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THE

LIVES

OF THE

SCOTISH POETS,

WITH

Preliminary Dissertations

ON THE

LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

AND THE

26536
ac

EARLY SCOTISH DRAMA.

BY DAVID IRVING, L.L.D.

VOLUME II.

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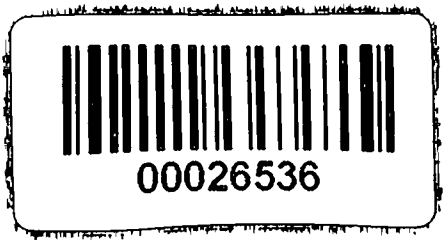

CORRECTIONS.

P. 137. l. 19. On reconsulting Lord Hailes's catalogue, I find that Dr Mackenzie has confounded two persons of the name of Henry Balnaves. They were successively distinguished by the title of Hallhill; and may be supposed to have stood in the relation of father and son.

160. 2. *For* Christan *read* Christen.

280. 19. *For* any *read* are.

298. 2. *After* of *insert* the.

309. 9. *For* Crawford-moor *read* Crawford.

311. 2. *For* Christiana *read* Christian.

353. 13. *For* Bellay *read* Bellie.

356. 17. Instead of Camphire, Mr Good ought perhaps to have written Campvere. He has transfigured several other proper names; and I find that I have occasionally followed him without a sufficient degree of circumspection.

356. last. *For* Würzbur *read* Würzburg.

365. 1. *For* at Enzie in Fouchabers *read* near Fochabers.

365. 13. *For* Enzie *read* Fochabers.

THE

LIFE

OF

GAVIN DOUGLAS.

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THE life of Bishop Douglas was virtuous and eventful. His political consequence has introduced his name into the public annals of his native country: and the intrinsic dignity of his private character is commemorated in simple terms by his official Alexander Myln [a].

Gavin Douglas was the third son of Archibald Earl of Angus, and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Lord Boyd, a nobleman who for some time held the office of high chamberlain [b]. He appears to have been born about the year one

[a] Alexander Myln was Canon and Official of Dunkeld, and afterwards Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and the first President of the College of Justice. His unpublished work entitled *Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium* may be found in the Advocates Library. This work is dedicated to Bishop Douglas and the chapter of Dunkeld.

[b] Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State, p. 315.

thousand four hundred and seventy-four. His education was undoubtedly suitable to his noble birth, and to the honourable profession for which he was destined; but the seminary in which he completed his studies has not been mentioned by any of his biographers.

Having entered into holy orders, he was appointed Rector of Hawick [c]. His early residence amid the beautiful scenes of Teviotdale must have tended in an eminent degree to foster in his warm imagination the genuine seeds of original poetry. The dormant energies of the human mind are at first awakened by external objects.

As early at least as the year 1509 he was, on the recommendation of his sovereign, nominated Provost of the Collegiate Church of St Giles in Edinburgh [d]. This was a situation of no small dignity and emolument: and he appears to have enjoyed it in conjunction with his other benefice.

It was while he filled those less elevated stations that he composed the admirable works which have perpetuated his name. His family was afterwards exposed to many vicissitudes: and the latter part of his life, notwithstanding his eminent piety and learning, was rendered

[c] Sage, Mackenzie, and Keith, on the alleged authority of Myln, have styled him Rector of Heriot. But on consulting the MS. I find him denominated "Rector de Havich."

[d] Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland, p. 5[illegible].

unquiet by the pernicious feuds which at that time prevailed.

His father, who is commonly denominated the Great Earl of Angus, followed the standard of his sovereign James the Fourth when he invaded England: but finding his prudent counsels disregarded, he excused himself on account of his advanced age, and returned towards his native country [e]. His two eldest sons, George Master of Angus, and Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, with about two hundred gentlemen of the same name, were slain in the fatal battle of Flodden. This calamity to the nation in general, and to his own family in particular, made so deep an impression on his heart, that having retired to St Mains in Galloway, he died there within the space of twelve months [f]. His title and estates were inherited by Archibald, the son of the late Master of Angus. This young nobleman, whose personal attractions stood unrivalled in the Scotish court, had the fortune to obtain the regard of the widowed queen; and their nuptials were solemnized within a shorter period than the rules of decorum require [g]. The match,

[e] The Earl of Angus was at that time provost of Edinburgh. From the Records of the Town Council, as quoted by Mr Sibbald, it appears that on the thirtieth of September, 1513, his son Gavin Douglas was chosen a burgess, "pro communi bona villæ, gratis." (*Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 423.)

[f] Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 235.

[g] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 255. edit. Ruddiman.

which had been secretly concluded without the concurrence of the nobles, excited general indignation. The queen was no longer willingly acknowledged as regent: the preëminence of her husband had rendered him odious in the eyes of the more powerful subjects; and the house of Douglas was involved in the persecutions which his aggrandizement provoked.

Among the warlike churchmen who fell in the battle of Flodden, was the king's natural son Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Abbot of Aberbrothock. In a letter addrest to Pope Leo the Tenth, the queen, after extolling Gavin Douglas as second to none in learning and virtue, earnestly requested that he might be confirmed in the possession of that abbacy, till his singular merits should be rewarded by some more ample endowment[h]. After the death of Stewart, William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, had been nominated to the vacant see of St Andrews: but his modesty or infirmities inducing him to decline this splendid station[i], the queen afterwards presented Douglas to the primacy. Confiding in the royal nomination, the splendour of his family, and his own virtue and learning, he took possession of the archiepiscopal castle: but the validity of his claims was efficaciously disputed

h Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 183.

i Boëthii Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ, f. xxxiii. a. Le laus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 356.

by two powerful rivals. These were John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, and Andrew Forman, Bishop of Murray in Scotland, and Archbishop of Bourges in France. The former having prevailed on the canons to elect him to the see laid siege to the fortress; and after some resistance, expelled the servants of his competitor[j]. The Earl of Angus, attended by a party of two hundred horse, made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the castle[k]: but it is not apparent that his uncle had instigated him to this measure. In the mean time, Andrew Forman, an unprincipled ecclesiastic of address and influence, who had formerly been employed in many important services, found means to obtain from the pope a grant of the archbishopric of St Andrews, the abbacies of Dunfermline and Aberbrothock, and the other benefices lately enjoyed by Alexander Stewart[l]. It was a privilege granted by the sovereign pontiff, that, within the space of eight months after a vacancy occurred, the kings of Scotland should retain the power of presenting qualified persons to benefices exceeding a certain annual value[m]. This right however was often superseded: and in the present instance, his Ho-

j Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 256.

k Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 124.

l Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 269.

m Ibid. vol. i. p. 197.

liness was pleased to invalidate the claim of Douglas as well as of Hepburn.

Douglas, inspired with the genuine spirit of Christian moderation, immediately resolved to abandon the pursuit of an object which could only be attained by engaging in acts of unbecoming violence. To this exemplary virtue the conduct of his ambitious rivals forms a striking contrast. Forman being afraid to proclaim the papal bull, prevailed upon Lord Hume to undertake the support of his cause; and by the influence of that nobleman, was enabled to march to Edinburgh accompanied by ten thousand men in arms. Having there performed the ceremony, they immediately directed their course towards St Andrews in order to secure the possession of his new dignity. Hepburn was not unprepared for his reception: surrounded by his friends, tenants, and servants, he had placed the castle in a posture of defence; and, not satisfied with that precaution, had even converted the metropolitan church into a fortress, ready to withstand the approach of a prelate nominated by the successor of St Peter[n]. Forman being unwilling to hazard an attack, was enabled by the mediation of his friends to draw the contest to a more amicable conclusion. It was stipulated that he should be put in quiet possession of the archbishopric of St Andrews, and

[n] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 191.

that his competitor should derive an annual sum from the bishopric of Murray, and should also retain the revenues which he had already levied from the former diocese[o].

Douglas was thus excluded from a participation of the emoluments: and, to complete the measure of his disappointments, the abbacy of Aberbrothock, which he had regarded as secure, was transferred to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow[p]. By these violent and unjust measures, his hopes of immediate preferment were rendered abortive. The death of George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld, presented him with new prospects, and exposed him to new mortifications. That prelate dying in January, 1515, the queen nominated Douglas to the vacant see; and, by the interposition of her brother Henry the Eighth, obtained a papal bull in his favour. In the mean time however Andrew Stewart, through the influence of his brother the Earl of Athole, had been elected postulate bishop by the chapter: and he manifested a determination to retain by force of arms the precarious possession which he had thus acquired in a clandestine manner. The enemies of the queen eagerly embraced an opportunity of exposing to disgrace a man so nearly related to her husband. Douglas was summoned before his proper judges, and arraigned for having, contrary to

[o] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 257.

[p] Lesl.æus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 364.

the laws of the realm, procured bulls from Rome. This practice had indeed been prohibited in several statutes; but the existing laws were very rarely carried into execution. The hostile faction were however eager to grasp at every opportunity of circumscribing the influence of those who were interested in supporting the Earl of Angus: and as they contemplated the superior talents of his uncle with a jealous eye, the present seemed a favourable occasion for depriving him of the power of exertion. Sentence of banishment was accordingly pronounced against him: but his punishment appears to have been afterwards mollified into imprisonment of an indefinite term. He was first committed to the custody of his former rival Hepburn, and confined in the castle of St Andrews. Having remained there for some time, he was removed to the castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards to that of Dunbar, whence he was again conducted to Edinburgh.

A reconciliation having at length taken place between the two leading factions, he was released after a confinement of upwards of twelve months. He was consecrated at Glasgow by Archbishop Beaton; who defrayed the necessary expences attending the ceremony. Having paid a visit to the metropolitan city of St Andrews, he proceeded towards Dunkeld. Here the clergy and laity testified the utmost joy at his arrival, and offered up their thanks to heaven for bestowing upon

them a bishop so noble, so learned, and so virtuous. The pope's bull being with the usual solemnities proclaimed at the high altar, he retired to the house of the dean, where he was splendidly entertained. The episcopal palace was still occupied by the retainers of Andrew Stewart: they declared that they held it in the name of the regent, and would not surrender it without orders from their master. The bishop, finding next day that they had also garrisoned the steeple of the cathedral, was under the necessity of performing divine service in the house where he lodged. Here also the customary oaths were administered to his canons. In the afternoon he entered into a consultation with the nobility, gentry, and clergy, who attended him: but they were speedily interrupted by the intelligence that Stewart was advancing to the support of his adherents. At the same instant a volley of cannon-shot was discharged from the palace and the cathedral. This was received as a signal for more vigorous exertion. James Lord Ogilvie, David Master of Crawford, Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, Thomas Greig, Prebend of Alyth, with many others of his friends, immediately prepared themselves for action: and messengers being dispatched to Angus and Fife, his party was next day strengthened by the arrival of a multitude of armed men. Stewart finding his force inadequate to the relief of his retainers who were inclosed in the palace and ca-

thedral, retired into the neighbouring woods without hazarding an attack. They were now summoned to surrender on pain of excommunication. On their refusing to yield, James Carmichael, with a detachment of the bishop's adherents, obtained possession of the cathedral, partly by force and partly by stratagem. Those who defended the palace being intimidated by this occurrence, demanded that for the space of a few hours a truce might be granted, and the sentence of excommunication suspended. Having obtained this request, they still persisted in their refusal to surrender: but at length, through the interference of the regent[q], Douglas gained possession without the effusion of blood[r]. This circumstance "was certainly very acceptable to the good bishop, who in all the actions of his life discovered a gentle and merciful disposition, regulating the warlike and heroic spirit that was natural to his family by the excellent laws of the Christian religion[s]."

After these events Stewart hastened to court, accompanied by his brother the Earl of Athole. Douglas esteemed it prudent to follow his example: and their cause was immediately represented to the Duke of Albany and the Lords of the Council. It was at length agreed that Stewart

[q] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 222.

[r] Myln, Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium; MS.

[s] Saga's Life of Bishop Douglas, p. 7.

should relinquish his pretensions to the see of Dunkeld, but should retain the revenues which he had already collected, and be confirmed in the possession of the churches of Alyth and Cargil, on condition of yielding to the bishop a certain annual contribution of grain[t]. Such was the mode of establishing prelates in the sixteenth century!

Although sentence of banishment had been pronounced against Douglas for the crime of receiving bulls from Rome, yet the regent did not scruple to apply to the pope for a ratification of this agreement. In a letter dated September 28, 1516, he entreats his Holiness that all defects of law or deed may be removed, and the contract rendered valid by his sanction[u].

Having thus obtained possession of the office, he was soon called from the discharge of its duties. In 1517, an ambassador arriving from the court of France with a proposition for the renewal of the ancient league, the Duke of Albany, Bishop Douglas, and Patrick Panther, were appointed to visit that country in the same capacity. The negotiation being brought to a satisfactory issue, Douglas was employed to convey the earliest intelligence to Scotland[v].

[t] Myln, Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium; MS.

[u] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 222.

[v] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 367. 371. Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 165.

His pastoral duties seem to have been again interrupted during some part of the following year. In the Cotton Library is an original letter signed by the Earl of Angus and others, and recommending him to King Henry as a proper agent for adjusting certain articles in contemplation[w].

Though in this manner exposed to occasional distractions, he yet presided over his diocese with exemplary piety and virtue. The various troubles in which he was formerly involved had not only prevented him from accumulating riches, but had even encumbered him with debts: yet his native benevolence of disposition prompted him to perform many acts of charity and munificence.

In the year 1520 he was presented with another opportunity of exercising his Christian meekness. When the regent was about to visit France, he delegated his authority to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and to the Earls of Arran, Angus, Argyle, and Huntley. The power of Angus however excited the apprehensions or the jealousy of his colleagues; and they resolved with united force to diminish the influence of so dangerous a rival. On the twenty-ninth of April, Arran with many others of the Western nobility assembled at Edinburgh in the house of Archbishop Beaton. They formed the immediate re-

[w] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. xcv.

solution of apprehending the Earl of Angus; whose power, they alleged, was so exorbitant, that while he continued at large, the liberty of his fellow-subjects was insecure. When he was apprized of their hostile intentions, he dispatched the Bishop of Dunkeld to endeavour to mitigate their resentment, and persuade them to submit the cause to legal arbitration. But this proposal was addrest to men ferocious from their numbers, confident of victory, and thirsting for revenge[x]. He first accosted Beaton, whom he found in Black-Friars Church; and entreated him to perform his duty by assuming the character of a peace-maker. But the dissembling and turbulent prelate protested that he was at once ignorant of their designs, and unable to prevent them from being carried into execution. And sealing his asseveration with an oath, he made a solemn appeal to his conscience: but having too rashly struck his right hand against his breast, he discovered to his indignant companion that his clerical habit concealed a coat of mail. "My Lord," exclaimed Douglas, "I perceive your conscience is not good; for I hear it *clatter*." He next sought Sir Patrick Hamilton, and requested him to interpose with his brother the Earl of Arran. This gentleman seemed inclined to peaceable measures: but the earl's bastard son Sir James, a

[x] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 261.

man of a ferocious disposition, rudely upbraided him with cowardice. "Bastard smaik!" rejoined Sir Patrick, "thou liest falsely: I shall fight this day where thou dare not be seen." And having drawn his sword, he rushed furiously into the street, where the Earl of Angus and his retainers were standing in a posture of defence. Perceiving him advance at a considerable distance before the rest of the assailants, the earl called aloud to his followers to save Sir Patrick Hamilton's life: but that gentleman and the Master of Montgomery were immediately slain. A fierce encounter now commenced. The victory at length fell to the Earl of Angus, after seventy-two of his antagonists had perished in the contest. During the action the pious bishop had retired to his chamber, and continued to pour out his soul in fervent prayer to the disposer of human events. But when the enemies of his family were put to flight, he hastened to prevent the wanton effusion of blood. Beaton, who appears to have been personally engaged, had now taken refuge behind the altar of Black Friars Church; but the sanctuary was without scruple violated by his enraged pursuers. The rochet was torn from his consecrated shoulders, and he had already begun to despair of his life, when Douglas interceded so effectually in his behalf, that they with-

held, though with some reluctance, the meditated blow[y].

Albany returned to Scotland in 1521, after an absence of upwards of four years. His first step was to reduce the overgrown power of the Douglasses. Angus and his principal adherents, being summoned to answer for the different outrages which they had committed, fled for refuge to the Kirk of Steyle. Bishop Douglas, aware of the regent's contempt for justice, hastened to find an asylum in England[z]. He had been cited to appear at Rome; and, according to his own declaration, he intended to obey the pontifical mandate[a]. At the gorgeous court of Henry the Eighth, where his poetical talents had undoubtedly procured him many admirers, he experienced a most gracious reception: and his eminent merit, which in his native country had only procured him envy, was here rewarded by the grant of a liberal pension[b]. Various acts of munificence evinced this monarch a patron of literature: and it is with some justice that Erasmus represents his palace as the abode of learning[c].

[y] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 188.—Lindsay refers this event to the year 1515; but our other historians, with greater probability, add five years to the number.

[z] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 378.

[a] Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 194.

[b] Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 872.

[c] "O vere splendidam vestræ Britanniæ regiam, sedem et arcem optimorum studiorum ac virtutum! Et vobis, mi Pacee, gratulor talem

But the fate of Surrey and of More, had he been free from other crimes, would have been sufficient to brand his name with everlasting infamy.

At London Douglas contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, who was then engaged in composing a history of England. The publication of Mair's history of Scotland, in which he ventured to expose the Egyptian fables of his predecessors, had excited the indignation of such of his countrymen as delighted to trace their origin to the daughter of Pharaoh. Douglas was studious to warn his new friend against adopting the opinions of this writer; and presented him with a brief commentary in which he pursued the fabulous line of our ancestry from Athens to Scotland[d]. This tractate, which was

principem, et principi gratulor, cujus regnum tot ingeniorum luminibus illustratur."

ERASMI Epistolæ, f. ii. a. Paris. 1525, 8vo.

d "Nuper enim," says Polydore Virgil, "Gavinus Douglas Donchel-densis episcopus, homo Scotus, virque summâ nobilitate et virtute, nescio ob quam causam, in Angliam profectus, ubi audivit dedisse me jampridem ad historiam scribendam, nos convenit: amicitiam fecimus: postea summe rogavit, ut ne historiam paulò antè à quodam suo Scoto divulgatam sequerer, in rebus Scoticis explicandis; pollicitusque est, se intra paucos dies missurum commentariolum de his nentiquam negligendum, id quod et fecit." (Polydori Virgilii *Anglica Historia*, p. 52. edit. Basil. 1556, fol.) This writer has inserted the substance of the historical scheme which he received from Douglas. "Ego statim ut ista legi," he subjoins, "visus sum videre ursam parientem, quemadmodum in proverbio est. Post hæc, ut solebamus, cùm animi gratiâ unà essemus, Gavinus sententiam meam rogavit. Respondi, me de origine nihil contendere, &c. Ab hac sententia Gavinus vir sane honestus tam minime abhorruit, quàm ratio ipsa ei visa est [illegible] veritate [illegible]me consentire."

probably written in Latin, seems to have shared the common fate of the writings entrusted to Polydore; who in order to secure the faults of his work from the danger of detection, is said to have destroyed many invaluable monuments of antiquity[c]. Vossius affirms that Douglas wrote a history of Scotland consisting of several books[f]: but Bishop Bale, to whose authority he refers, only mentions a single book[g]; and it is evident that the historical composition to which they, as well as Dempster[h], allude, is the identical summary quoted by Polydore Virgil.

While he was thus employed in vindicating what he deemed the honour of his native country, a process was in his absence instituted against him, and an unjust sentence of prescription

Polydore Virgil was a learned Italian who came to reside in England for the purpose of collecting the papal revenues. He was appointed Archdeacon of Wells; and enjoyed his preferment till the accession of Edward the Sixth. Besides his history of England, a work of little estimation, he wrote a treatise *De Prodigiis*, and another *De Rerum Inventoribus*.

[c] Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 51. edit. Lond. 1634, 4to.—— Bishop Nicolson remarks that "he is said to have borrowed books out of the publick library at Oxford, without taking any care to restore them: Upon which the university (as they had good reason) declined lending any more, till forced to it by a mandate which he made a shift to procure from the king. In other places he likewise pillaged the libraries at his pleasure; and, at last, sent over a whole ship-load of manuscripts to Rome." (*English Historical Library*, p. 70.)

[f] Vossius de Historicis Latinis, p. 686.

[g] Baleï Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 218.

[h] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 221.

issued in the name of the king and the three estates. Its tenor is as follows:

"Whereas Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, not only without the permission and licence of the King's Grace, his tutor the governor of the kingdom, and the three estates of the realm, but even contrary to the express command of the said governor, has entered England with an intention to remain there, and, after the declaration of war against that nation, has devoted himself to the service of the English monarch, for the purpose, as may be conjectured from manifest indications, of betraying this kingdom; by which conduct he has infringed the parliamentary statutes enacted against the crime of high treason: and in order that no indulgence may be granted to those who by such unwarrantable proceedings render themselves guilty of rebellion: it is hereby enacted, that a royal mandate be issued to the Vicar General of St Andrews, the metropolitan see being at this time vacant, commanding him, as ordinary of the foresaid bishop, to sequestrate the revenues of the cathedral of Dunkeld; and that none of the lieges, under pain of being held guilty of treason, shall afford the foresaid bishop pecuniary aid, or maintain with him any correspondence either by letters or messengers. And since the interest of a private individual ought not to be more prevalent with our most holy master the pope and his sacred conclave of cardinals, than

the sincere devotion of the King's Grace, his illustrious tutor, and the three estates of the realm, it is hereby decreed by the advice of the said estates, that a letter shall be addrest to our most holy master the pope, beseeching him that he will not, contrary to the privileges of this realm formerly granted by the sovereign pontiffs, nominate or recommend the traitor Gavin Douglas to the archbishopric of St Andrews and the abbacy of Dunfermline, or to either of those benefices. And lest that letter should be deemed the mere suggestion of private sentiment, another to the same effect shall be written by the said three estates of the realm, and delivered along with the present proclamation under the great seal of the King's Grace[i]."

Beaton, being determined at all hazards to secure the archbishopric of St Andrews and the abbacy of Dunfermline, each the most ample endowment of its kind, reflected that in Douglas he might experience a powerful competitor: and in order to blast the reputation of the man who had formerly saved his life, he, as chancellor of the realm, addressed a letter to the King of Denmark, in which he besought him to represent Douglas to the sovereign pontiff as a person altogether unworthy of his favour or protection[j]. The various artifices which were thus employed

i Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 328. j Ibid. vol. i. p. 333.

against him, serve to evince that a very high opinion had been formed of his personal character. Whether he had actually presented himself as a candidate for those vacant offices, is not sufficiently evident; but it is at least certain that his enemies dreaded the result of an application from such a competitor.

Their ungenerous expedients were however superfluous. In 1522, when he was probably in the forty-eighth year of his age[k], he was seized with the plague, and soon fell a victim to its dreadful contagion[l]. He died in London, and was interred in the Savoy Church on the left side of Thomas Halsay, Bishop of Leighlin in Ireland; whose monument also contained a short inscription of Douglas's name and addition[m]. The character which he left behind him was that of "a man learned, wise, and given to all virtue and goodness[n]."

To the splendour of his birth and the comeliness of his person, Douglas united every virtue and every accomplishment which could adorn the

[k] According to Hume's calculation, he had reached the forty-sixth year of his age in 1520. (*Hist. of the House of Douglas*, p. 246.) Several writers have placed his death in 1521: but this disagreement may have arisen from their different modes of computation. At that time, the year commenced on the twenty-fifth day of March. Others have inadvertently referred his death to the year 1520. (Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the British Churches*, p. lv.)

[l] Polydori Virgilii Anglica Historia, p. 53.
Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 220.

[m] Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments, p. 446.

[n] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 101.

citizen or the minister of religion. In an age of turbulence and discord, his conduct was uniformly directed by the rules of Christian moderation. He was connected, by the ties of interest as well as of affection, with a powerful and factious family which had often shaken the unstable throne of the Stewarts: yet instead of coöperating in their unwarrantable designs, he invariably deported himself with that meekness which ought always to distinguish the character of the man who devotes himself to the service of the altar. Lesley has inconsiderately charged him with mingling in the tumults of those unhappy times. The only commotion in which he is recorded to have been personally engaged, was that which attended his instalment in the bishopric of Dunkeld; but it is evident that on his part the contest was unpremeditated, and arose from the powerful principle of self-defence. Buchanan, with equal incorrectness, affirms that he was restrained by the languor of old age from interfering in the bloody encounter which took place between the Earls of Arran and Angus. At that time he had only reached the forty-sixth year of his age; a period of life by no means unfavourable to the exertion of military prowess. With the fortitude incident to a great mind, he submitted to the numerous disappointments and mortifications which thwarted him in the career of preferment. And when he at length obtained

an accession of power, he never sought to avenge the wrongs to which he had formerly been exposed. His character as a politician appears to have commanded the reverence of his countrymen: and in the discharge of his duty as a Christian pastor, he exhibited a model of primæval purity. By his exemplary piety and learning, by his public and private acts of charity and munificence, he reflected distinguished honour on the illustrious family from which he descended, and on the sacred profession to which he had devoted his honourable life.

Of the brightest character however, some stain will always be found to tarnish the lustre. In an evil hour he had infringed the laws of chastity°:

° Hume informs us that he "had a base daughter, of whom the house of Foulewood (Semple) is descended." (*Hist. of the House of Douglas*, p. 220.)

The eulogies which Lesley and Buchanan have pronounced on Douglas are of too much importance to be overlooked by his biographer. "Hic vir," says the learned Bishop of Ross, "si se his tumultibus non immisciusset, dignus profectò fuisset propter ingenii acumen acerrimum, ac eruditionem singularem, qui omnium literis ac memoriâ consecraretur. Nostram linguam multis eruditionis suæ monumentis illustravit; in quibus illud fuerat ingenii sui signum longe præclarissimum, quod Virgilii Æneidos nostro idiomate donavit eâ dexteritate, ut singulis Latinis versibus singuli Scotici respondeant; eo sententiarum pondere, ut nostræ linguæ si intelligas vim occultam mireris; eâ denique felicitate, ut nullam ego antiquorum poetarum lauream cum ejus in hoc genere laude facile comparem: quippe quò videtur nostra lingua asperior, ac ab ea copia quæ Latinam commendat, alienior, eò fuit Douglasii laus reliquis Latinis poetis illustrior, quòd in Virgilio vertendo versuum suavitatem, sententiarum pondera, verborum significationes, ac singulorum pene apicum vim nostrâ linguâ plene enucleateque expresserit." (Leslæus *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 378.)

but it is to be supposed that he was not then invested with the priestly habit. At the same time let it be remembered that, according to the sentiments of the age, transgressions of this kind were entitled to unbounded indulgence, whether they appeared among the clergy or the laity. Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, had two sons legitimated in one day, and five daughters in another[p].

Of the works of Douglas no impression is known to have been undertaken during his own life. His *Palice of Honour* was printed at London in 1553 by William Copland; and at Edinburgh in 1579 by John Ross for Henry Charters. Both these editions are in quarto. It is probable that there are others which have not hitherto been discovered: for the Edinburgh publisher

Buchanan's testimony in favour of a Popish prelate cannot be suspected of partiality. "Is, proximo anno, dum Romam proficiscitur, Londini peste correptus obiit, magno suæ virtutis apud bonos desiderio relicto. Præter enim natalium splendorem et corporis dignitatem, erant in eo multæ, ut illis temporibus, literæ, summa temperantia, et singularis animi moderatio, atque, in rebus turbulentis, inter adversas factiones, perpetua fides et auctoritas. Reliquit et ingenii et doctrinæ non vulgaria monumenta sermone patrio conscripta." (Buchanan. *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, p. 262.)

[p] In an assembly of the clergy in the year 1558, we find Bishop Hepburn pleading the cause of impurity. It was moved, says Lindsay, "that no kirk-man should commit whoredom; or, if he did, for the first fault he should pay great sums of money; for the second he should lose his benefice. To this act opponed the Bishop of Murray, a great fornicator and adulterer, alleging, that it was as lawful to him to keep his whore as to the Bishop of St Andrews." (*History of Scotland*, p. 315.)

affirms "the divers impressiones befoir imprinted of this notabill werk to have bene altogidder faultie and corupt, not only that quhilk has bene imprentid at London, but also the copyis set furth of auld amangis our selfis." This work has lately been reprinted in the first volume of Mr Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems*; and among the *Select Works of Gawin Douglass*, published at Perth in the year 1787. To this selection the Rev. Mr Scott has prefixed a life of the author. A quarto impression of Douglas's translation of *The Thretene Bukes of Eneados* appeared at London in 1553. In the folio edition published at Edinburgh in 1710, the numerous errors of the former are carefully corrected from a MS. belonging to the public library of the university. To this edition, undertaken at the expence of Freebairn and Symson, an excellent glossary was contributed by Mr Ruddiman, and an elaborate life of the translator by the Rev. John Sage[q], a man not destitute of ingenuity or of literature. Among the principal favourers of the design, the editor enumerates Bishop Nicolson, Sir Robert Sibbald, Dr Pitcairne, and Mr Urry. Douglas's *King Hart* was printed for the first time among Mr Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*[r].

[q] Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, p. 45.

[r] Douglas is one of the interlocutors in a dialogue prefixed to Mair's *Commentarii in Primum et Secundum Sententiarum*. Paris. 1519, fol. Its title is as follows: "Dialogus de Materia Theologo Tractanda. Dialogus

THE works of Douglas exhibit specimens of varied excellence. Of literary perfection however, if such a term may be adopted, our notions are not absolute but relative. This eulogy must therefore be understood to bear reference to a particular scale of merit: and a comparative estimate must be formed of the characters of different ages, nations, and languages. Yet after every requisite indulgence is granted, the intrinsic beauty of his compositions will not fail of exciting the admiration of those whom a previous knowledge of the Scotish dialect has constituted judges. His writings present us with constant vestiges of a prolific and even exuberant imagination; and his very faults are those of superabundance rather than of deficiency. In his descriptive poems, so admirable in many respects, he sometimes distracts the attention by a multi-

inter duos famatos viros, Magistrum Gauuinium Douglaiseum, virum non minùs eruditum quàm nobilem, Ecclesiæ Beati Ægidii Edinburgensis Præfectum, et Magistrum Davidem Crenstonem, in Sacra Theosophia Baccalareum, optimè meritum."—Mair's *Commentarius in Quartum Sententiarum* is inscribed to Gavin Douglas, and to Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross.

Of David Cranston, who was perhaps related to William Cranston, the author of a *Dialectica Compendium*, the following quotation contains a brief account: "David Cranstoun, raræ probitatis et felicis ingenii, durâ et exercitâ juventute laboriosè bonas artes Lutetiæ didicit, ac deinde docuit magnâ famâ. Inter benefactores Collegii Montisacuti reponitur, quòd quæcunque ex honestissimo labore professionis illi obvenerant, testamento ejusdem loci pauperibus reliquit. ---Ab eo vidi publicatas Parisiis, Orationes, lib i. Votum ad Kentigernum, lib. i. Epistolas, lib. i." (Dempster. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 187.)

plicity of objects, and is not sufficiently careful to represent each new circumstance in a definite and appropriate manner. His allegorical sketches are efforts of no common ingenuity: but what chiefly renders his works interesting, is the perpetual occurrence of those picturesque and characteristic touches which can only be produced by a man capable of accurate observation and original thought. He is minute without tediousness, and familiar without impertinence. We are delighted with the writer, and become interested in the man. The beauties of external nature he seems to have surveyed with the eyes of a poet; the various aspects of human life with those of a philosopher. Our attention is alternately attracted by picturesque descriptions of material objects, and by pointed observations on the manners and pursuits of mankind.

To his inherent qualifications was superadded the necessary aid of scholastic discipline. He was perhaps the most learned of the early Scotish poets. The intimacy of his acquaintance with ancient literature was in that age rarely paralleled. His favourites among the heathen poets were apparently Virgil and Ovid: and among the Christian fathers his favourite was St Augustin, whom he denominates the chief of clerks. Of the Latin language his knowledge was undoubtedly extensive: and as he has informed us that Lord Sinclair requested him to translate Homer,

we may conclude that he was also acquainted with Greek. At present his secular learning is alone remembered; but Myln has informed us that he was likewise eminently skilled in theology and in the canon law.

His style is copious and impetuous: but his diction may be considered as deficient in purity. In his translation of Virgil he professes to be scrupulous in rejecting Anglicisms: and indeed his language is generally remote from that of the English poets. But he has imported many exotic terms from another quarter; his familiarity with the Latin authors betrays itself in almost every page of his writings. His verses, though less smooth and elegant than those of Dunbar, are not unskilfully constructed. With regard to the quantity of syllables he has not displayed the same unbounded licentiousness as sometimes appears in the writings of our ancient poets. In many of his lines deficiencies or redundancies may be discovered; but they are commonly to be imputed to the inaccuracy of transcribers, or to our ignorance of the true mode of pronunciation. What Mr Tyrwhitt has suggested in defence of the versification of Chaucer, may with equal propriety be applied to that of Douglas: "The great number of verses, sounding complete even to our ears, which is to be found in all the least corrected copies of his works, authorizes us to conclude, that he was not ignorant of the laws

of metre. Upon this conclusion it is impossible not to ground a strong presumption, that he intended to observe the same laws in many other verses which seem to us irregular; and if this was really his intention, what reason can be assigned sufficient to account for his having failed so grossly and repeatedly as is generally supposed, in an operation which every ballad-monger in our days, man, woman, or child, is known to perform with the most unerring exactness, and without any extraordinary fatigue[s]?"

Douglas's *King Hart*, an allegorical poem of a singular construction, exhibits a most ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life. The heart, being the fountain of vital motion, is personified as man himself, and conducted through a great variety of adventures. At first the mystical king is presented to our view in all the fervour of youth, and surrounded by Strength, Wantonness, and many other gay companions.

King Hart into his cumlie castell strang,
  Closit about with craft and meikill ure,
So scimlie wes he set his folk amang,
  That he no dout had of misaventure;
  So proudlie wes he polist, plaine, and pure,
With youtheid and his lustie levis grene;
  So fair, so fresche, so liklie to endure,
And als so blyth as bird in symmer schene.

[s] Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer p. 91.

For wes he never yit with schouris schot,
  Nor yit our run with ronk or ony rayne;
In all his lusty lecam nocht ane spot,
  Na never had experience into payne,
  But alway into lyking mocht to layne:
Onlie to love and verrie gentilnes
  He wes inclynit cleinlie to remane,
And woun under the wyng of wantownes.

Yit was this wourthy wicht king under ward;
  For wes he nocht at fredom utterlie:
Nature had lymmit folk, for thair reward,
  This gudlie king to governe and to gy;
  For so thai kest thair tyme to occupy:
In welthis for to wyne for thai him teitchit;
  All lustis for to love and underly,
So prevelie thai preis him and him preitchit.

These "inwarde ythand servitouris," are Strength, Wantonness, Jealousy, Gentility, Freedom, Pity, and other personages of the same motley denomination. In order to defend him against treason, five of his vassals, the senses, are placed at the outer-works of his castle. These however are sometimes guilty of betraying their master.

Honour arrives at the gate, and, on being denied admission by these watchmen, forces his passage by means of an engine, and hastily ascends the great tower:

Honour persewit to the kingis yet:
  Thir folk said all thai wald not lat him in;
Becaus thai said the lard to feist wes set,
  With all his lustie servands more and myn.

Bot he ane port had enterit with ane gyn,
And up he can in haist to the grit toure;
And said he suld it perall all with syn,
And fresche delyt with money florist floure.

So strang this king him thocht his castel stude,
With mony toure and turrat crounit hie:
About the wall their ran ane water voud,
Blak, stinkand, sour, and salt as is the sey;
That on the wallis wiskit, gre be gre,
Rolding to ryis the castell to confound:
Bot thai within maid sa grit melodie,
That for thair reird thai micht not heir the sound.

At a small distance from the castle of King Hart stands the delightful palace of *Plesance*, "the quhilk wes parald all about with pryd." This fair queen is constantly attended by a troop of lovely nymphs, among whom are Beauty, Freedom, Gentleness, Kindness, and Mirth. Having one day ridden into the fields with all her train, she happens to approach the habitation of the king. Alarmed at the unusual appearance, the day-watches hasten to inform their master. Youth, mounted on innocence, and Delight on benevolence, sally forth in order to reconnoitre; but are dazzled and confounded by Beauty, the leader of Pleasure's vanguard. Fair-Calling seizes their steeds by the bridle, and, having conducted the two knights to her castle, binds them with the bands of Venus. King Hart, impatient for

their return, next dispatches Love, Wantonness, and others, on the same enterprize: but they being also seized and detained, he rises in his wrath, and with all his comely host rushes to the war. Pleasure marshals her troops and stands prepared for the encounter. The forces of King Hart are defeated; and he himself, being taken captive, is delivered to Beauty, in order to have the wound drest which he has received in battle from the hand of Queen Pleasure. But the more she applies herself to its cure, the more his malady increases. The prisoners are now conducted to the palace of the victorious queen.

King Hart his castell levit hes full waist,
And Hevenes maid capitane it to keip.
Radour ran hame, full fleyit, and forchaist,
Him for to hyde crap in the dungeoun deip.
Langour he lay upon the walls but sleip,
But meit, or drink: the watché horne he blew.
Ire was the portour, that full sayr can weip;
And Jelousy ran out; he wes never trew.

Having, under pretext of bringing tidings, followed his master to the castle of Pleasure, Jealousy there perceives Lust in fetters, and Love lying bound with a block suspended from his neck. Youth walks at large, and is always roaming to and fro. Desire lies in stocks at the door of a dungeon: Honesty possesses the power of preserving him from harm; but Prodigality constantly attends him.

Discretioun wes as then bot young of age :
He sleipit with Lust quhairever he might him find ;
And he aganc wes crabbit at the page :
Ane ladill full of luif, stude him behind,
He suakit in his ene, and made him blinde.

The court of Pleasure is crowded with many other allegorical personages whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

Pity having at length released King Hart and his chivalry, they assault the queen and make themselves masters of her fortress. This enchanting nymph having cast herself on his courtesy, he is deeply smitten with her charms.

Freschlie to feist thir amouris folk ar went :
Blythnes wes first brocht bodwart to the hall :
Dame Chastetie, that selie innocent,
For wo yeid wode, and flaw out owr the wall.

After they have rolled in ease and delight for upwards of twenty years, an event takes place which serves to estrange the affections of Queen Pleasure.

A morrowing tyde, quhen at the sone so schene
Out raschit had his bemis frome the sky,
Ane auld gude man befoir the yet was sene
Apone ane steid that raid full casalie.
He rappit at the yet, but curtaslie ;
Yit at the straik the grit dungeoun can din :
In at the last he schowted fellonlie,
And bad thame rys, and said he wald cum in.

Wantonness having hailed him from the battlements, this stranger replies that his name is Age; and that at all events he must enter the castle. Shocked at the intelligence, Wantonness hastens to inform the king; who begins to murmur at the early arrival of so unwelcome a guest. Youth falls on his knees before him, and craves to be dismissed with his merited reward. King Hart is marvelously grieved at the prospect of being finally separated from his beloved companion:

Sen thow man pas, fair Youtheid, wa is me!
Thow wes my freynd, and maid me gude service.
Fra thow be went, never so blyth to be
I mak ane vow, [al] thoch that it be nyce.
Of all blythnes thy bodie beirs the pryce.
To waresoun I gif thé or thow ga,
This fresche visar, was paintit at devyce:
My lust alway with thé se that thow ta.

Youth now warns his brethren Disport and Wantonness to prepare for their departure. *Delyverance*, or Promptitude, starts up and offers his services as a guide. Without taking a formal adieu of their former master, they rush out at a postern. Age, attended by "fyve hunder scor" of unlovely companions, enters the castle and shocks the delicate feelings of Dame Pleasure. Scarcely has he arrived, when Conscience appears before the walls, and demands how long he is to be kept in a state of exile. Age hearing of his

approach, hastens to admit him. Conscience meets Sin in the court or inclosure, and lays a "felloun rout on his rig-bone;" but the violence of the blow hurts his own breast. Sadness, one of the train of Age, interposes between these antagonists. Folly and Vice, terrified at the boldness of Conscience in thus proceeding to acts of violence in the presence of more than five hundred of the king's retainers, skulk away, and conceal themselves in a corner; and their example is speedily followed by several other wicked counsellors. While Conscience is engaged in chiding King Hart, Wisdom and Reason begin to rap very loudly at the gate, and, exclaiming that they had long been suffered to stand unregarded, demand immediate admittance. "In good faith!" exclaims Conscience, "this conduct is wrong: give me the keys, and I shall now act in the capacity of porter." Having at length gained admission, Reason instantly runs to Discretion and removes the thick films which have obscured his sight. A conversation, in which Wisdom and Reason occasionally interfere, now ensues between Conscience and King Hart. After various incidents, Pleasure begins to manifest the native inconstancy of her disposition. Wisdom and Reason persuade the unfortunate king to return to his own castle. After his arrival, Decrepitude, accompanied by a powerful host, lays siege to the fortress, and after a fierce contest gains complete

possession. The most formidable of his warriors are Palsy, Cough, and Head-ache. Having entered the citadel, he inflicts a mortal wound on King Hart; who immediately prepares for death by framing a very remarkable testament.

This composition may remind the reader of the general plan of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island;* a work which exhibits a striking example of the misapplication of fine poetical talents. Yet that Douglas and Fletcher should have adopted subjects of this kind, will not appear surprizing to those who recollect that in poetical numbers Serenus attempted to teach the art of physic, Rhemnius to discuss the proportions of weights and measures, Hobbes to unfold the history of the Christian church[t].

From the many ungrammatical passages which appear in *King Hart*, it has been regarded as a juvenile performance. But the grammar even of the English language remained altogether unfixed and imperfect for the space of nearly two cen-

[t] Historia Ecclesiastica Carmine Elegiaco concinnata, authore Thoma Hobbio Malmesburiensi. Opus posthumum. Augustæ Trinobantum, 1688, 8vo.

Hobbes is the author of another metrical work equally absurd in its plan, and equally despicable in its execution. It bears the title of *Thomæ Hobbesii Malmesburiensis Vita, authore seipso.* Lond. 1679, 4to. This tract is reprinted at the end of *Thomæ Hobbii Angli Malmesburiensis Philosophi Vita.* Carolopoli, 1681, 8vo. The prose life was published and chiefly written by Robert Blackburne, M.D.; who has only presented us with the initials of his name. It has frequently been ascribed to Dr Ralph Bathurst. See Mr Warton's *Life of Bathurst*, p. 50.

turies posterior to the age of Douglas: and indeed no successful attempt towards reducing it to a regular and practical system seems to have preceded that of Dr Lowth. For although the learned and acute Dr Wallis, as well as other respectable scholars, had investigated the genius of the language with critical nicety, yet their speculations did not lend any new precision or correctness to vernacular composition. Even among the writers of the present æra, the rules of English grammar seem to be too little understood: in the elaborate pages of Dr Blair many solecisms may be detected. The grammar of the Scotish language was never completely reduced to any standard. Much therefore was always left to the choice or caprice of the writer: and in general it would be difficult to determine what is grammatical, and what the contrary. It would be a superfluous task to search for any standard of speech, where none was acknowledged even by the best authors. If we refer to the present rules of English grammar, we shall find them most grossly violated by Buchanan, Lesley, Winzet, and others of our ancient writers who have discovered an intimate acquaintance with classical learning.

Nor is it of much importance to aver that *King Hart* is more ungrammatical than Douglas's translation of Virgil. For we must always recollect that the ignorance or presumption of transcribers often counteracted the author's most

scrupulous attention to correctness: and as different compositions of the same writer might be obnoxious to different contingences, some might happen to receive more material injury than others. Douglas was himself aware of the diminution which his reputation might possibly sustain from the bold innovations of transcribers:

Ze writaris al, and gentil redaris eik,
Offendis not my volume, I beseik,
Bot rede lele, and tak gude tent in tyme
Ze flouthir mangil nor misreter my rime.

The longest of Douglas's original compositions is *The Palice of Honour*, an allegorical production which displays much versatility of fancy, and a ready command of poetical imagery. The laws of congruity may occasionally be violated, and the component parts arranged without due attention to the delicacy of proportion: yet, with all its imperfections, it is evidently the effort of a superior mind.

Early in a morning of May, the poet enters a most delightful garden, where he falls into a swoon, and is presented with a remarkable vision. He fancies himself conveyed into a dreary forest bordering on a hideous flood.

My rauist spreit on that desert terribill
Approchit near that rude horribill,
Like till Cochyte the river infernall,

With vile water quhilk maid a hiddious trubil,
Rinnand ouir heid, blude reid, and impossibill
That it had been a riuer natural;
With bravis bair, raif rochis like to fall,
Quhairon na gers nor herbis wer visibill,
Bot swappis brint with blastis Boriall.

This laithlie flude rumbland as thonder routit,
In quhome the fisch yelland as eluis schoutit;
Thair yelpis wilde my heiring all fordeifit,
Thay grym monstures my spreits abhorrit and doutit.
Not throw the soyl but muskane treis sproutit
Combust, barrant, unblomit and unlefit,
Auld rottin runtis quhairin na sap was leifit,
Moch, all waist, widderit, with granis moutit,
A ganand den quhair murtherars men reifit.

When he finds himself in this doleful region, he begins to complain of the cruelty of Fortune; but his attention is soon attracted by the arrival of a magnificent cavalcade "of ladyis fair and guidlie men." After they have past in due order, two catives approach, the one mounted on an ass, the other on a hideous horse. These prove to be the arch-traitors Achitophel and Sinon. The latter informs him that the company which he has now beheld is Minerva with her court; that the twelve dames who surround her are Sibyls; and that she is also attended by Solomon, Pythagoras, Cicero, and other sages, Jewish, Grecian, and Roman. They are all, says Sinon, faring towards the palace of Honour, and their journey lies through this wilderness. On his enquiring

how it happens that such wretches as themselves should be suffered to follow the court of Minerva, Achitophel returns for answer, that they are there permitted to make their appearance, in the same manner as rain, thunder, and earthquakes, are sometimes permitted to deform the face of May.

The poet now betakes himself to a thick covert, from which he discovers Actæon pursued by his own dogs, and the court of Diana following at a small distance. The goddess herself is mounted on an elephant, and only attended by the pure votaries of chastity: but the poet archly expresses his surprize at the paucity of her followers. Of the fair sex however, notwithstanding this sneer, he seems to have entertained a very favourable opinion: and on every proper occasion he has been sufficiently careful to advance their claims. Into the happy regions of Elysium, his favourite poet Virgil, as Dr Jortin remarks, "seemeth not to have introduced one female, though the Roman and Grecian history might have furnished him with several who deserved admittance as much as the best of his heroes[1]."

He is now attracted by the most melodious music. Instead however of solacing himself with these heavenly notes, he immediately enters into

[1] Jortin's Dissertations, p. 290.

a disquisition relative to the conveyance of sound:

Farther by water folk may soundis heir,
Than be the eirth, the quhilk with poris seir
Up drinkis air that moult is be sound,
Quhilk in compact water of ane riuier
May nocht enter, but rinnis thair and heir,
Quhill it at last be carit on the ground.
And thocht throw din be experience is found
The fische ar causit within the riuier steir,
In with the water the noyis dois not abound.

Violent din the air brekis and deris,
Sine greit motiown of the water steiris;
The water steinit, fisches for feirdness flies:
Bot out of dout na fische in water heiris,
For, as we se, richt few of thame hes eiris:
And eik forsuith bot gif wise clerkis leis,
Thair is na air in with waters nor seis;
But quhilk na thing may heir, as wise men leiris,
Like as but licht thair is nathing that seis.

When a man, says the poet, is deprest with melancholy, pleasure itself is converted into pain: and thus the melody which flowed in so heavenly a strain, only tended to augment my woe. His murmurings however are soon interrupted by the arrival of the court of Venus; which he describes in very magnificent terms. Venus is seated in a gorgeous car, attended by her son Cupid; who is strangely represented as a man well-formed, and of large limbs. She is accompanied by a band

of musicians, whose divine skill even surpasses that of David, though the sounds of his harp are said to have overcome the evil demon that tormented Saul. Mars follows behind, mounted on a " bardit curser stout and bald :"

Euerie invasibill wapon on him he bair ;
His luik was grym, his bodie large and squair,
His lymmis weill entailyiet to be strang ;
His neck was greit a span lenth weill or mair,
His visage braid, with crisp broun curland hair ;
Of stature not ouir greit, nor yet ouir lang.
Behaldand Venus, O ye my lufe ! he sang :
And scho agane with dallyance sa fair
Hir knicht him cleipis quhair sa he ryde or gang.

Here also are seen every renowned hero and heroine of scriptural, classic, and romantic story. On witnessing their disport and parade, he begins to exclaim against Venus and all her retinue ; but is quickly dragged from his retreat and arraigned at the august tribunal of the goddess. Her assessors are Mars and Cupid. The accusation is redd by a " clerk cleipit Varius," and the trial proceeds in due form. The prisoner pleads that he is a spiritual man, and ought to be remitted to his judge ordinary. But Venus is enraged at this appeal, and commands Varius to write the sentence of condemnation. In the midst of his consternation, the court of the

Muses [x] makes its appearance, and relieves him from his hopeless situation, when he has already begun to expect immediate transformation.

Yet of my deith I set not half ane fle,
For greit effeer me thocht na pane to die;
But sair I dred me for some uther jaip,
That Venus suld, throw her subtillitie,
Intill sum bysning beist transfigurat me,
As in a beir, a bair, ane oule, ane aip:
I traistit sa for till have bene mischaip,
That oft I wald my hand behald, to se
Gif it alterit, and oft my visage graip.

This new court consists of "wise digest eloquent fathers trew, and plesand ladyis of fresche bewtie." Some are engaged in rehearsing Greek and Latin histories, others in chanting to the lyre Sapphic and elegiac verse. Homer is the only Greek poet enumerated among the attendants of the Muses; but

[x] With respect to the genealogy of the Muses, all the editions which I have seen contain a very ludicrous error:

Thespis, the mother of Musis nine.

Douglas undoubtedly wrote Thespia. Thespis is known to every reader of Horace as an Athenian poet; but Thespia, according to some of the ancients, was the mother of the Muses. "Neque aliud," if we may credit Natalis Comes, "est tane Memnon quàm memoria, aut Thespia quàm divinatio et divina cognitio: id apertiùs etiam declarant nomina illarum Musarum quæ fuerunt ab Aloëi filiabus cultæ; Melete scilicet exercitatio, Mneme memoria, Aœde cantus." (*Mythologia*, p. 760.)

Thair was the greit Latine Virgilius,
The famous father poeit Ouidius,
  Dictes, Dares, and eik the trew Lucane :
Thair was Plautus, Poggius, and Persius ;
Thair was Terence, Donate, and Seruius,
  Francis Petrarche, Flaccus Valeriane ;
  Thair was Esope, Cato, and Allane ;
Thair was Galterus and Boetius ;
  Thair was also the greit Quintilliane.

Thair was the satyr poeit Juuenall ;
Thair was the mixt and subteill Martiall ;
  Of Thebes bruyt thair was the poeit Stace :
Thair was Faustus, and Laurence of the Vale ;
Pomponius, quhais fame of late, sans faill,
  Is blawn wyde throw euerie realm and place[x] :
  Thair was the moral wyse poeit Horace,
With mony uther clerk of greit auail :
  Thair was Brunnell, Claudius, and Bocchace.

Sa greit ane preis of pepill drew us neir,
The hundredth part thair names ar not heir.
  Yit saw I thair of Brutus Albion,
Geffray Chaucier, as *a per se* sans peir
Of his vulgare ; and morall John Goweir.
  Lydgate the monk raid musing him alone.
  Of this natioun I knew also anone
Greit Kennedie and Dunbar yit undeid,
And Quintine with ane huttock on his heid.

[x] The first edition of Pomponius Mela was published at Milan in quarto in the year 1471 ; but his celebrity had afterwards been augmented by the edition of Hermolaus Barbarus, who was cotemporary with Douglas.

Some of these names are sufficiently obscure or disfigured. By Flaccus Valeriane, Laurence of the Vale, and Claudius, we are undoubtedly to understand Valerius Flaccus, Laurentius Valla, and Claudian. The Gualterus whom he has in view is probably Walter Burley, a celebrated English philosopher who was born in the year 1275[y]. In the time of Leland many of Burley's philosophical works were preserved in manuscript at Oxford and Cambridge[z]. His treatise *De Vitis et Moribus Philosophorum* was twice printed at a very early æra. Vossius, who had seen both the editions, represents it as abounding with errors which to us appear sufficiently ludicrous. The writer whom Douglas has classed with Æsop and Dionysius Cato, may be Allan of Lynne; who, among other works, is said to have composed allegorical and moral expositions of the sacred scriptures. He was a Carmelite Friar, and flourished during the reign of Henry the Fifth[a]. Of this name however there was a more celebrated writer, Alanus de Insulis, a native of Germany, who flourished about the year 1300. The number of his compositions was almost infi

[y] Vossius de Historicis Latinis, p. 515.

[z] Leland. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, tom. ii. p. 354

[a] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. iii. p. 253.
Pitseus de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 601.

nite[b]: and the extent of his knowledge procured him the appellation of the Universal Doctor[c]. Faustus, the author of some tracts printed in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, is sufficiently known as a favourer of the Semi-Pelagian doctrines. He died about the year 480[d]. Brunell, it has been conjectured, was a native of Germany, and flourished about the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century. He composed many Latin poems which have never been published: but his *Sententia de Ordinibus Religiosis* appears in the collection of Martene and Durand[e].

The court of the Muses having thus reached the spot where Venus is sitting in judgment,

[b] Among other works, he wrote a commentary on the prophecies of Merlin. See *Prophetia Anglicana et Romana; hoc est Merlini Ambrosii Britanni, ex imulo elicu*, &c. Francofurti, 1608, 8vo.

[c] Lilii Gyraldi Historia Poetarum, p. 222.

[d] Cave, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, p. 366.

[e] Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio, tom. vi.—The following extract from Brunell's poem may be acceptable to some readers; as it contains a slight contribution to ecclesiastical history.

Est et adhuc alius nuper novus ordo repertus,
Quem benè, nam bonus est, commemorare decet.
Hic apud Anglorum fines exortus, ab ipso
Nomen habet natus quo fuit ipse loco.
Symphinigram dictus, de simplicitate vocatus,
Sive per antiphrasim ordo vocatur ita.
Canonici missas tantùm, reliquumque sororum
Explent, officii debita jura sui.
Corpora, non voces, murus disjungit; in unum
Psallunt directo psalmate et absque mero.

Calliope intercedes so effectually in the poet's behalf, that his crime is pardoned on condition that he shall compose some poem in honour of the goddess whom he has offended. He immediately pours forth an unpremeditated lay; and Venus declares she is satisfied. Her court then departs, and leaves the poet with that of the Muses. Calliope commits him to the charge of "ane sweit nymphe maist faithfull and decoir," and the whole train commences a most miraculous journey.

Ane hors I gat maist richelie besene,
Was harneist all with woodbind leuis grene;
Of the same sute the trappours law doun hang.
Ouir him I straid at command of the quene:
Tho samin furth we riding all bedene
As swift as thocht, with mony a merie sang,
My nymph alwayis conuoyit me of thrang
Amid the Musis, to se quhat thay wald mene,
Quhilks sang and playit, but neuer a wreist yeid wrang.

They now roam through a great variety of regions: but the poet's account of their flight savours strongly of the incoherence of a dream They at length reach the Castalian fountain.

Beside that cristall well sweit and digest,
Thame to repois, thair hors refresche and rest,
Alichtit doun thir Musis cleir of hew.
The cumpanie all haillelie leist and best
Thrang to the well to drink, quhilk ran south wes,
Throw out ane meid quhair alkin flouris grew

Amang the laif full fast I did persew
To drink, bot sa the greit preis me opprest,
That of the water I micht not taste a drew.

Ouir horsis pasturit in ane plesand plane,
Law at the fute of ane fair greene montane,
Amid ane meid schaddowit with ceder treis.
Saif fra all heit thair micht we weil remain:
All kinde of herbis, flouris, frute, and greine,
With eurie growand tre thair men micht cheis.
The beryall streams, rinnand ouir stanerie greis,
Made sober noyis: the schaw dinnit agane
For birdis sang, and sounding of the beis.

The ladyis fair on diuers instrumentis
Went playand, singand, dansand, ouir the bentis:
Full angellik and heuinlie was their soun.
Quhat creature amid his hart imprintis
The fresche bewetie, the gudelie representis,
The merrie speiche, fair hauing, hie renown,
Of thame, wald set a wise man half in swoun.
Thair womanlines wryithit the elementis,
Stoneist the heuin, and all the eirth adoun.

The warld may not considder nor descriue
The heuinlie joy the blis I saw belive,
Sa ineffable, abone my witt sa hie.
I will na mair thairon my foirheid riue,
Bot briefly furth my febill process drive.
Law in the meid an palyeon picht I se,
Maist gudliest and richest that micht be:
My governour oftner than times fiue
Vnto that hald to pass commandit me.

Swa finally straicht to that royall steed
In followschip with my leidar I yeid :
  We enterit sone, the portar was not thra,
Thair was na stopping, lang demand, nor pleid.
I kneillit law, and unheilded my heid ;
  And tho I saw our ladyis twa and twa
  Sittand on deisis ; familiars to and fra
Servand thame fast with ypocras and meid,
  Delicate meitis, dainteis seir alswa.

The discourse turning on love and valour, Calliope commands Ovid, her Clerk Register, to declare "quha war maist worthie of thair handis." The favoured poet then recapitulates the deeds of ancient heroes, and also sings of transfigurations, of the art of love, and of its remedy. He is followed by other bards :

Uprais the greit Virgillius anone,
And playit the sportis of Daphnis and Corydone.
  Sine Terence come, and playit the comedy
Of Parmeno, Thrason, and wise Gnatone.
Juuenall like ane mowar him allone
  Stude scornand euerie man as thay yeid by.
  Martial was cuik, till roist, seith, farce, and fry.
And Poggius stude with mony girne and grone,
  On Laurence Valla spittand, and cryand fy !

With mirthis thus and meitis delicate
Thir ladyis feistit according thair estait,
  Uprais at last, commandand till tranoynt :
Retreit was blawn loude, and than, God waite,
Men micht have sene swift horsis haldin hait,
  Schynand for sweit, as they had bene anoynt.

Of all that rout was neuer a prick disjoynt,
For all our tary; and I furth with my mait
Mountit on horse, raid samin in gude point.

Ouir mony gudlie plane we raid bedene,
The vaill of Hebron, the camp Damascene,
Throw Josaphat, and throw the lustie vaill;
Ouir waters wan, throw worthie woddis grene:
And swa at last on lifting up our ene,
We se the final end of our trauail,
Amid ane plane a plesand roche to waill;
And euerie wicht, fra we that sicht had sene,
Thankand greit God, their heidis law deuaill.

With singing, lauching, merines, and play,
Unto this roche we rydand furth the way.
Now mair to write for feir tremblis my pen.
The hart may not think nor mannis toung say,
The eir nocht heir, nor yit the eye se may,
It may not be imaginit with men,
The heuinlie blis the perfite joy to ken,
Quhilk now I saw: the hundredth part all day
I micht not schaw, thocht I had toungis ten.

Thocht all my members toungis war on raw,
I war not able the thousand fauld to schaw;
Quhairfoir I feir ocht farther mair to write:
For quhidder I this in saul or bodie saw,
That wait I nocht; bot he that all dois knaw,
The greit God wait, in euerie thing perfite.
Eik gif I wald this auisioun indite,
Jangleris suld it backbite and stand nane aw,
Cry out on dreimis quhilks are not worth ane wit.

The poet perceives an immense rock of a very peculiar appearance. It seems of a slippery and hard substance, and, like glass, reflects the rays of the sun. Many paths wind around it, but only one leads to the summit. The Muses and the rest of their train immediately ascend, leaving the poet and his attendant nymph behind. She leads him by the hand, and encourages him to proceed: but when they have nearly gained the pinnacle, he observes their path crost by an abominable ditch, burning like hell, and full of brimstone, pitch, and boiling lead. In this are seen floating many a ghastly wretch; some already suffocated, others still yelling amid the flames. The nymph informs him that these are such as once professed to be faring towards the palace of Honour, but in the sequel, being allured by pleasure or sloth, have stumbled into this dismal lake. She now seizes him by the locks, and conveys him to the summit of the enchanted rock. At her command he casts his eyes from the eminence, and beholds the world tost in a tempest of misery, and many perishing amid the weltering waves. He perceives a goodly barge labouring against the fury of the storm, and at length bulging against a sand-bank. Some of the crew are swallowed by the waves, others reach the shore and begin to ascend the rock.

As we bene on this hie hill situait,
Luik down, quod scho, consaue in quhat estait
Thy wretchit warld thow may considder now:
At her command with meikill dreid, God wait,
Out ouir the hill, sa hiddious hie and strait,
I blent adoun and felt my body grow.
This brukill eird, sa litill till allow,
Me thocht I saw birn in ane fireie rage
Of stormie sey, quhilk micht na maner swage.

That terribill tempest, hiddeous wallis huge,
War maist grislie for to behald or judge,
Quhair nouther rest nor quiet micht appeir:
Thair was ane perrelous place, folk for to lodge:
Thair was na help, support, nor yit refuge.
Innumerabill folk I saw flotterand in feir,
Quhilk pereist on the walterand wallis weir:
And secundlie I saw a lustie barge
Ouirsett with seyis, and mony stormy charge.

This gudelie carvell taiklit traist on raw,
With blanschit saill, milk quhite as ony snaw,
Richt souer, ticht, and wonder stranglie beildit,
Was on the boldyn wallis quite ouirthraw.
Contrariouslie the busterous wind did blaw
In bubbis thick, that na schippis sail micht weild it.
Now sank scho law, now hie to heuin up heildit.
At everie part swa sey and windis draif,
Quhill on ane sand the schip did burst and claif.

It was a pieteous thing, alaik! alaik!
To heir the dulefull cry when that scho straik;
Maist lamentabill the pereist folk to se,
Sa famist, drowkit, mait, forewrocht, and waik,
Sum on ane plank of fir tre, and sum of aik,

Sum hang upon a takill, sum on ane tre,
Sum fra thair grip sone waschin with the see;
Part drownit, part to the roche fleit or swam
On raipis or buirdis, sine up the hill they clam.

Tho at my nymph breiflie I did enquire,
Quhat signifyet that feirfull wonder seir.
Yone multitude, said scho, of pepill drint
Ar faithles folk, quhilkis, quhill thay ar heir,
Misknawis God and followis thair pleseir;
Quhairfoir thay sall in endlis fire be brint.
Yone lustie schip yow seis pereist and tint,
In quhome yon pepill maid ane perrelous race,
Scho hecht *The Carvell of the State of Grace.*

Ye bene all borne the sonnis of ire, I gues,
Sine throw baptisme gettis grace and faithfulnes,
Than in yone carvell surelie ye remane,
Oft stormested with this warldis brucklenes,
Quhill that ye fall in sin and wretchitness;
Than schip broken sall ye drown in endles pane,
Except by faith ye find the plank agane,
Be Christ working gude warkis I understand:
Remane thair with, this sall yow bring to land.

This explication of the Christian system seems to proceed with little propriety from one of the attendants of the Muses. The poet is guilty of several other incongruities equally palpable.

He is now presented with a view of the palace of Honour, the splendour and magnificence of which surpasses description. Within the gate he beholds many stately tour-

naments and many lusty sports. The nymph then conveys him to a garden, where he finds Venus seated on a gorgeous throne.

Bot straicht befoir Venus visage, but let,
Stude emeraut stages twelf, grene precious greis,
Quhairon thair grew thre curious goldin treis,
Sustentand weill, the goddes face beforne,
Ane fair mirrour be thame quently upborne.

This mirror possesses the quality of representing "all thingis gone like as thay war present." In it he beholds an adumbration of every remarkable action recorded in history. Among other personages of a like description, he sees

Greit Gowmacmorne and Fyn Mac Cowl, and how
Thay suld be goddis in Ireland, as thay say.

These are evidently Fingal and Gaul the son of Morni, the renowned heroes of Ossian. As early at least as the age in which Douglas flourished, the exploits of Fingal were celebrated in certain popular tales, composed either in the Scotish or Gaëlic language[g].

g "Conjiciunt quidam in hæc tempora Fynnanum filium Cœli, (Fyn Mak-Coul, vulgari vocabulo virum, uti ferunt, immani staturâ, septenum enim cubitorum hominem fuisse narrant) Scotici sanguinis, venatoriâ arte insignem, omnibusque insolitâ corporis mole formidolosum; circularibus fabulis, et iis quæ de Arthuro Britonum rege, passim apud nostrates leguntur, simillimum, magis quam eruditorum testimonio decantatum."

Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. 128. b.

In this enchanted mirror he also sees diverse tricks of legerdemain performed by Roger Bacon and other necromancers.

The nigromancie thair saw I eik anone
Of Benytas, Bongo, and Frier Bacone,
With mony subtill point of juglairie;
Of Flanders piis made mony precious stone,
Ane greit laid sadill of a siching bone,
Of ane nutmeg thay maid a monk in hy,
Ane paroche kirk of ane penny pye:
And Benytas of an mussell maid an aip;
With mony uther subtill mow and jaip.

The nymph at last informs him that the mirror possest of such wonderful properties, signifies nothing else

Bot the greit bewtie of thir ladyis facis,
Quhairin louer thinks thay behald all graces.

After he has for some time contemplated these curious spectacles, Venus recognizes her former prisoner, and welcomes him to this region. She presents him with a book, which proves to be Virgil's Æneid, and commands him to translate it into his native language; a task which it is well known he has performed with wonderful felicity.

The nymph now conducts him to a spot where he has an opportunity of observing the multitude that presses for admission into the palace. He

perceives Achitophel and Sinon endeavouring without success to scale the walls. Cataline attempts to enter by a window; but Cicero approaches armed with a book, and repels him with a mighty blow. Many thousands beside are likewise foiled in their endeavours to ascend the lofty walls. A watchman named Equity appears on the battlements, and with a tremendous voice denounces vengeance against covetousness, envy, and falsehood. Patience, the portress of King Honour, admits the nymph and her ward into the palace. He enumerates at large the various officers of this august court, and describes the endless wonders which present themselves. He halts in amazement to contemplate the magnificence of the palace-gate, till his guardianess upbraids him for such infatuation. Having entered the precincts, he is confounded by the radiance of the surrounding objects.

The durris and the windois all were breddit
With massie gold, quhairof the fynes scheddit.
With birneist euir baith palice and towris
War theikit weill, maist craftilie that cled it;
For sa the quhitely blanschit bone ouirspred it,
Midlit with gold, anamalit all colouris,
Importurait of birdis and sweit flowris,
Curious knottis, and monie hie deuise,
Quhilks to behald war perfite paradice.

And to proceed my nymphe and I furth went
Straicht to the hall throwout the palice gent,

And ten stages of topas did ascend.
Schute was the door: in at a boir I blent,
Quhair I beheld the glaidest represent
That euer in eirth a wretchit catiue kend.
Breiflie this process to conclude and end,
Me thocht the flure was all of amytist;
Bot quhairof war the wallis I not wist.

The multitude of precious stainis seir
Thairon sa schone, my febill sicht but weir
Micht not behald thair verteous gudlines.
For all the ruif, as did to me appeir,
Hang full of plesand lowpit sapheiris cleir:
Of dyamontis and rubies, as I ges,
War all the buirdis maid of maist riches;
Of sardanis, of jasp, and smaragdane,
Traists, formis, and benkis, war poleist plane.

Baith to and fro amid the hall thay went,
Royal princes in plait and armouris quent,
Of birniest gold couchit with precious stanis.
Enthronit sat ane god omnipotent;
On quhais glorious visage as I blent
In extasie, be his brichtness atanis
He smote me doune, and brissit all my banis.
Thair lay I still in swoun with colour blaucht,
Quhill at the last my nymphe up hes me caught.

Sine with greit pane, with womenting and cair,
In hir armis scho bair me doun the stair,
And in the cleis full softlie laid me doun;
Upheld my heid to tak the hailsome air;
For of my life scho stude in greit dispair.
Me till awalk was still that lady boun,
Quhill finallie out of that deidlie swow

I swyith ouircome, and up mine ene did cast:
Be merrie man, quod scho, the werst is past.

Get up, scho said; for shame! be na cowart:
My heid in wed, thow hes ane wyfes hart,
That for a plesand sicht was sa mismaid.
Than all in anger upon my feit I start,
And for hir wordis was sa apirsmart,
Unto the nymphe I maid a busteous braid:
Carling, quod I, quhat was yone that thow said?
Soft yow, said scho, thay are not wyse that stryfis;
For kirkmen war ay gentill to the wyifis.

His anger being appeased, she informs him that those whom he has observed in the court of Honour, are such as during their lives were constantly directed by the laws of equity, valour, and liberality: in battle they were found of most prowess with spear, sword, and dagger; to their promise they always adhered with the most scrupulous observance; they abounded in worth, and were illumined by liberality. Honour in these domains differs very widely from what obtains the same appellation among mankind: there it is only worldly pomp and parade, and conferred with a reference to birth or estate; here it is never bestowed even on princes and prelates, except their claims be founded in virtue.

Having descanted on the rewards of virtue and the punishment of vice, she offers to conduct him to a delightful garden, where the Muses are culling the flowers of rhetoric, and where trees bear

precious stones instead of fruit. It is surrounded by a deep moat, abounding in fish and aquatic birds: and on the trees which adorn its banks, fowls are seen growing in a most remarkable manner. The only access to the garden is by a single tree laid across the ditch. The nymph immediately passes this slender bridge: but in attempting to follow her, the poet becomes giddy and falls headlong into the pool. The singing of the birds, and the agitation occasioned by this immersion, at length awake him from his trance. He composes a lay in praise of honour, and then concludes by inscribing the work to his sovereign James the Fourth.

The following is Mr Sage's criticism on *The Palice of Honour:* "The author's excellent design is, under the similitude of a vision, to represent the vanity and inconstancy of all worldly pomp and glory; and to shew that a constant and inflexible course of vertue and goodness is the only way to true honour and felicity, which he allegorically describes as a magnificent palace, situate on a very high mountain, of a most difficult access. He illustrates the whole with variety of examples, not only of these noble and heroic souls, whose eminent vertues procured them entrance into that blessed place, but also of those wretched creatures, whose vicious lives have fatally excluded them from it for ever, notwithstanding of all their worldly state and grandeur.

This work is addressed to James IV. on purpose to inspire that brave prince with just sentiments of true honour and greatness, and incite him to tread in the paths of vertue, which alone could conduct him to it. And to make it more agreeable and entertaining, he hath adorned it with several incident adventures; and throughout the whole discovers a vast and comprehensive genius, an exuberant fancy, and extraordinary learning, for the time he lived in. He seems to have taken the plan of it from the palace of happiness described in the Picture of Cebes; and it is not improbable that his country-man Florentius Volusenus had it in view, and improv'd his design, in his admirable (but too little known) book *De Tranquillitate Animi*[s]."

Between the description however of Cebes and that of Douglas, it will perhaps be difficult to discover any very remarkable affinity. If it can be evinced that a striking resemblance prevails between those two compositions and the work of Florence Wilson, it seems more safe to conclude that he imitated Cebes rather than Douglas. Wilson's dialogue *De Animi Tranquillitate* appeared in 1543; whereas *The Palice of Honour* was not printed till ten years afterwards. If therefore he ever perused this poem, it must have been previously to its publication.

[s] Sage's Life of Bishop Douglas, p. 15.

It has also been surmized that the work of Douglas is *probably* founded on the *Sejour d'Honneur* of St Gelais; for no other apparent reason than the obvious affinity of their respective titles. If imitation must thus be so zealously inferred, it would perhaps be more proper to fix upon Chaucer's *House of Fame* as the exemplar. But till other arguments shall be produced, *The Palice of Honour* may safely be regarded as an original composition.

Douglas's spirited translation of the Æneid has often been highly commended, though seldom beyond its merits. Without pronouncing it the best version of this poem that ever was or ever will be executed, we may at least venture to affirm that it is the production of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the language of his original, and prompt command of a copious and variegated phraseology, qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task. And whether we consider the state of British literature at that æra, or the rapidity with which he completed the work, he will be found entitled to a high degree of admiration[h]. In either of the sister lan-

[h] Dunkeld, no more the heaven-directed chaunt
Within thy sainted wall may sound again:
But thou, as once a poet's favourite haunt,
Shalt live in Douglas' pure Virgilian strain;
While Time devours the castle's towering wall,
And roofless abbies pine, low tottering to their fall.

G. Dyer.

guages few translations of classical authors had hitherto been attempted; and the rules of the art were consequently little understood. It has been remarked that even in English no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared; except of Boëthius, who scarcely merits that appellation[i]. On the destruction of Troy Caxton had published a kind of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French: and the English reader was taught to consider this motley composition as a version of the Æneid. Douglas bestows severe castigation on Caxton for his presumptuous deviation from the classical story; and affirms that his work no more resembles Virgil than the Devil resembles St Austin. He has however fallen into one error which he exposes in his predecessor: proper names are often so disfigured in his translation, that they are not without much difficulty recognized. In many instances he has been guilty of modernizing the notions of his original. The Sibyl, for example, is converted into a nun, and admonishes Æneas, the Trojan baron, to persist in counting his beads. This plan of reducing every ancient notion to a modern standard has been adopted by much later writers: many preposterous instances occur in the learned Dr Blackwell's *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus.*

Of the general principles of translation how-

i Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 281.

ever Douglas appears to have formed no inaccurate notion. For the most part his version is neither rashly licentious nor tamely literal. In affirming that he has always rendered one verse by another, Lesley and Dempster have committed a mistake. This regularity of correspondence he either did not attempt or has failed to maintain. Such a project would indeed have been wild and nugatory. The verses of Virgil and Douglas must commonly differ in length by at least three syllables; and they may even differ by no fewer than seven.

The merit of such a performance cannot be ascertained by the inspection of a few detached passages. It may however be proper to exhibit a brief specimen; which the reader, without being previously warned, will find himself disposed to examine with due allowances.

Facilis descensus Averni:
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est: pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Dis geniti, potuere. Tenent media omnia silvæ,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.

VIRGIL.

It is richt facill and eith gate, I thé tell,
For to descend and pas on doun to hell:
The black zettis of Pluto and that dirk way
Standis euir opin and patent nycht and day·

Bot therfra to returne agane on hicht,
And here aboue recouir this airis licht,
That is difficill werk, thare laboure lyis.
Full few thare bene quhom heich aboue the skyis
Thare ardent vertew has rasit and vpheit,
Or zit quham equale Jupiter deifyit.
Thay quhilkis bene gendrit of goddis, may thydder attane.
All the midway is wildernes vnplane,
Or wilsum forrest; and the laithlie flude
Cocytus with his dresy bosum vnrude
Flowis enuiron round about that place.

DOUGLAS.

In his prologues to the different books he exhibits occasional specimens of his talent for criticism. Dr Warburton himself has not extracted deeper mysteries from the description of Æneas's descent to hell.

Beside this noble effort of Douglas, the early annals of Scotish poetry present us with no other serious attempt at translation. Whether our countrymen have gained or lost by this predelection for their own inventions, is a queſtion which I shall not presume to decide. By availing themselves of the poetical materials accumulated during the lapse of ages, they might undoubtedly have been enabled to rear a structure more capacious and elegant: but by their confident reliance on native resources, they have perhaps adorned the fabric with ornaments of a more characteristic denomination. Among the poets of modern Europe, no class seems so little indebted

to foreign aid as those of Scotland; a circumstance which may partly be ascribed to their local situation, and partly to the general character of a people impatient of prescription, and delighting to pursue the stream of original thought. When we direct our view towards the ancient English poets, we readily discover that their works contain much stolen fire. Warton and Tyrwhitt have shown that the origin of a very considerable number of Chaucer's compositions may be traced among the writers of Italy and France.

In the poems appended to his translation, Douglas has fortunately specified the origin and progress of the undertaking. The work, he there informs us, was begun and finished at the request of his cousin Henry Lord Sinclair; whom he represents as an accomplished and liberal patron of literature. It was the labour of only sixteen months, and completed on the twenty-second day of July, 1513, about twelve years after he had composed his *Palice of Honour*. This task must be understood to comprehend, not merely a version of the twelve books of Virgil, but also of the supplement of Mapheus Vegius [j], together with the original prologues and epilogues.

j Mapheus Vegius, a native of Italy, flourished in the year 1448. As a poet he formerly enjoyed a high degree of reputation. Paulus Jo-

Hume of Godscroft, who was himself a poet, has remarked that "in his prologues before every book, he sheweth a natural and ample vein of poesy, so pure, pleasant and judicious, that he believes there is none that hath written before or since but cometh short of him. There is not such a piece to be found as is the prologue to the eighth book, at least in our language."

His prologues to the seventh and twelfth books display an admirable vein of descriptive poetry. They have been exhibited in an English dress by Mr Fawkes. The prologue to the twelfth book has also been modernized by Jerom Stone. The prologue to the supplement of Vegius presents us with a poetical description of an evening in June.

These are the only works of Douglas which have descended to our times. In the *Conclusion* of his Virgilian task, he avows a resolution to devote his future days to the glory of God and the service of the commonwealth. He elsewhere hints a suspicion that he should be considered as negligent of divine studies, and too much captivated by secular learning: and, to heighten his apprehensions, the story of St Jerom intrudes itself upon his mind,

vius observes, in hyperbolical terms, that he excelled almost every poet who had flourished during the space of a thousand years. (*Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium*, p. 196.)

Quhow he was doung and beft into his slepe,
For he to Gentilis bukis gaif sic kepe.

For his consolation he might however have recollected, that if Jerom was warned in a vision against the perusal of prophane authors, Dionysius of Alexandria was admonished by a voice from heaven to study them without restriction[k].

The earliest of Douglas's performances appears to have been a translation of Ovid *De Remedio Amoris*, of which no copy is known to be extant. He thus speaks of the work:

Lo thus, followand the floure of poetry,
The battellis and the man translate have I,
Quhilk zore ago in myne undantit youth
Unfructuous idilnes fleand, as I couth,
Of Ovideis Lufe the Remede did translate,
And syne of hie Honour the Palice wrate.

Bale mentions another of his compositions by the title of *Aureæ Narrationes*[l]; which Sage supposes to be the short commentary noticed in the concluding address to Lord Sinclair:

[k] Tyrie the Jesuit was also favoured with a divine vision of the same complexion. "Nocte quadam apparuit illi Sanctus P. N. Ignatius, et graviter increpitum, quòd plus litteris quam pietati acquirendæ se impenderet, paternè hortatus est, ut litteris quidem operam daret, sed non tanto ardore, ut spiritus exinde maneret oppressus. Quae admonitio [illegible] vitam ejus inhæsit memoriæ, ut magno ei semper [illegible] omnem perfectionem." (Sotvelli *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, p. [illegible]b. Romæ, 1676, fol.)

[l] Bale, Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 218.

I haue also ane schorte *commend* compyld,
To expone strange historiis and termes wylde:
And gif ocht lakis mare, quhen that is done,
At zoure desir it sall be writtin sone.

This comment, it is probable, was merely a brief explication of the classical mythology, intended for the use of his noble friend.

If we may credit Bale and Dempster[m], he likewise composed comedies: but those rhapsodical biographers delight in multiplying books as well as authors.

[m] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 221.

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR DAVID LINDSAY.

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IT is not unworthy of remark, that the votaries of polite learning have often evinced a warm and efficacious attachment to the cause of religious liberty. The Reformation will be found to have been promoted in every country of Europe by men distinguished for their love of elegant letters. Luther himself, if not eminent as a poet, was at least a passionate admirer of good poetry. Calvin's institution of the Christian religion has been extolled, even by Joseph Scaliger, as exhibiting an exquisite specimen of literary composition. Melanchthon was a rhetorician of considerable reputation: and in his introduction to the art[a],

[a] Melanchthonis Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo. Paris. 1532, 8vo.—It is not however certain that this is the first edition. I have a

he has undoubtedly displayed a more polished taste than many of the early labourers in the same field. Beza, by the publication of his Latin poems, acquired no mean celebrity among the scholars of the age. In the catalogue of the Scotish Reformers we discover the names of Buchanan and Lindsay: the former has earned a reputation which can only decay with the love of every thing that is elegant in literature; and the latter, though of far inferior fame, is confessedly entitled to a respectable place in the early annals of Scotish poetry.

Sir David Lindsay, the descendant of an ancient family, was born during the reign of James the Fourth, probably at his paternal seat the Mount near Cupar in Fife. He received, says Dr Mackenzie, his academical education in the University of St Andrews, and afterwards travelled through England, France, Italy, and Germany[b]. With the mode in which this biographer discovered the place of his education, I am totally unacquainted: and if Lindsay has, as he alleges, presented us with such intelligence respecting his youthful travels, I am unable to discover the passage in which it is contained. He informs

copy of a curious edition of Melanchthon's rhetoric, accompanied with the explications of Martinus Crusius, Professor of Greek in the University of Tubingen. It was printed at Bâle in octavo, probably in the year 1564; but the time of its impression is not specified. Melanchthon also published *Erotemata Rhetorices*.

b Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 35.

us in general terms, that he had travelled through diverse countries; and, in particular, he mentions the appearance of the ladies in Italy: but that he visited any of those countries during his youth, can only be known by conjecture.

In the year 1513 we find him a *special servant* to James the Fourth; whom he attended at Linlithgow when a spectre forewarned the devoted monarch of his imminent danger[c]. Of this singular occurrence, the following simple narrative will probably amuse the reader.

"The king," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "came to Linlithgow, where he happened to be for the time at the council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance

[c] Alexander Barclay, an ancient Scotish poet, has characterized this chivalrous monarch in the following terms. (*Ship of Fooles.* Lond. 1500, fol.)

And, ye Christen princes, whosoever ye be,
If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,
Take James of Scotland for his audacitie
And proved manhode, if ye will laude attayne:
Let him have the fewarde: have ye no disdayne,
Nor indignation; for never king was borne
That of ought of warre can shewe the unicorne.

For if that he take once his speare in hande,
Agaynst these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
None shall be able his stroke for to withstande,
Nor before his face so hardy to abide.
Yet this his manhode increaseth not his pride;
But ever sheweth he meknes and humilitie
In worde or dede to hye and lowe degree

and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came a man clad in a blue gown in at the kirk door, and belted about him with a roll of linnen cloth; a pair of brotikins on his feet, to the great of his legs, with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head, but syde red yellow hair behind and on his haffits, which wan down to his shoulders; but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two and fifty years, with a great pyke-staff in his hand; and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring for the king, saying, 'He desired to speak with him;' while, at the last, he came where the king was sitting in the desk at his prayers: but when he saw the king, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down groflings on the desk before him and said to him on this manner as after follows: 'Sir king! my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this time, where thou art purposed; for, if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee mell with no woman, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou their's; for, if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.'

"By this man had spoken thir words unto the King's Grace, the evening song was near done; and the king paused on thir words, studying to give him an answer: but in the mean time, he

fore the king's eyes, and in presence of all the lords that were about him for the time this man vanished away, and could noways be seen nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say, Sir David Lindsay, Lyon Herald, and John Inglis, the Marshall, who were at that time young men, and special servants to the King's Grace, were standing presently beside the king; who thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him: but all for nought: they could not touch him; for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen[d]."

This ghostly visiter seems to vie with the Evil Genius of Brutus. Some of the nobles probably had recourse to the agency of an apparition, in order to divert the king from his pernicious project of invading England. The figure which thus entered the church must have been composed of something more substantial than either a spectre or a phantasm of the brain. When Brutus fancied he saw a hideous apparition, he was sitting alone in his pavillion at the dead of night[e], and might easily be deluded by his own sombre imagination: but James, it is said, was surrounded by his courtiers, and the figure visible to others as well as to

[d] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 172. edit. Edinb. 1778, 12mo.
[e] Plutarchi Opera, vol. v. p. 4[illegible]. edit. Reiske.

himself. That such an incident actually happened at Linlithgow, cannot reasonably be disputed: Buchanan has relàted it on the authority of Sir David Lindsay, whom he extols as a man of unblemished integrity[f].

According to Mackenzie, Sir David "was made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-chamber, and the care of the young prince, King James the Fifth, was committed to him, as a person well seen in all the customs, manners, and languages, of the nations through which he had travelled." But as the evidence for his early travels has been found defective, we must also receive this information with caution. It is produced without any authority, and therefore entitled to little credit. From the dedication of his *Dreme* to King James, it would however appear that he had enjoyed some office in the royal household:

Quhen thow was zoung, I bure thé in my arme
Full tenderlie til thow begouth to gang,
And in thy bed oft happit thé full warme;
With lute in hand sine sweitly to thé sang:
Sum time in dansing feircely I flang,
And sum time playand fairsis on the flure,
And sum time on *my office* takand cure.

[f] "In iis fuit David Lindesius Montanus, homo spectatæ fidei et probitatis, nec à literarum studiis alienus, et cujus totus vitæ tenor longissime à mentiendo aberat: à quo nisi ego hæc, ut tradidi, pro certis accepissem, ut vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam omissurus eram."

BUCHANAN, Rerum Scoticarum Historia, p. 251.

In *The Complaint directit to the Kingis Grace*, he again alludes to his faithful services:

How as ane chapman beiris his pack,
I bure thy Grace vpon my back.
And sum times strydlinges on my nek,
Dansand with mony bend and bek.
The first sillabis that thow did mute,
Was *Pa, Da Lyn, vpon the lute:*
Than playit I twenty springis perqueir
Quhilk was greit 'plesure' for to heir.
Fra play thow let me neuer rest,
Bot Gynkertoun thow luifit ay best:
And ay quhen thow come from the scule,
Than I behuiflit to play the fule;
As I at lenth into my DREME
My sindrie seruice did expreme:
Thocht it bene better, as sayis the wise,
Hap to the court nor gude seruise.
I wait, thow luifit me better than
Nor now sum wife dois hir gude-man.
Than men til vther did record,
Said Lyndesay wald be maid ane lord.
Thow hes maid lordis, Schir, be Sanct Geill!
Of sum that hes nocht seruit sa weill.

Dr Mackenzie supposes that in his dedication of *The Dreme* the poet insinuates that he had enjoyed the accumulated offices of lyon king of arms, steward of the household, purse-master, treasurer, usher, and gentleman of the bed-chamber: "all which places," he adds, "he was deprived of in the year 1533, saving that of lyon

king at arms, which he enjoyed till his death." In support of these assertions, he appeals to two passages in Lindsay's works: but the interpretation of the first evidently is, that the affection of the young prince induced him to employ Lindsay in services of every description; and the second only contains a general complaint of his unrequited attendance at court. Mackenzie might have discovered a more appropriate passage:

Bot I, allace! or euer I wist,
Was trampit doun into the dust,
With heuy charge withoutin moir;
Bot I wist neuer zit quhairfoir;
And haistely befoir my face
Ane vther slippit in my place,
Quhilk lichtelie gat his rewaird,
And stylit was the ancient laird:
That time I micht mak na defence,
Bot luke perforce in patience;
Prayand to send them ane mischance
That had the court in gouernance;
The quhilkis aganis me did malign,
Contrair the plesure of the king:
For weill I knew, his Gracis minde
Was euer to me treu and kinde,
And, contrair thair intentioun,
Gart pay me weill my pensioun:
Thocht I ane quhile wantit presence,
He leit me haue na indigence.

The only preferment which it is certain that I obtained was the office of lyon king of arms. I

was installed in the year 1542[g]: and he apparently retained his situation till the time of his death. The above expressions may therefore be understood as referring to a temporary lapse from the royal favour. Had he been deprived of some office, the emolument would also have been withdrawn.

Of James the Fifth he always speaks in terms of affection: and although it appears from his own works that he experienced occasional mortifications, yet his attachment continued without diminution. He was one of the few courtiers who were present at the king's premature death[h]. The enemies of whom he complains were probably found among the dignified clergy; whom he has satirized with unparalleled boldness, and whom he sometimes admonished of their duty with a degree of freedom which must have excited the keenest resentment. The king being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobility and prelates, Lindsay approached him with due reverence, and began to prefer a humble petition that he would instal him in an office which was then vacant. "I have," said he, "servit your Grace lang, and luik to be rewardit as others are: and now your maister taylor, at the plesure of God, is departit; wherefore I wald desire of your Grace to bestow this little benefite upon me."

[g] Sir David Lindsay's Blazonings; MS.

[h] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 276.

The king replied that he was amazed at such a request from a man who could neither shape nor sew. "Sir," rejoined the poet, "that maks nae matter; for you have given bishoprics and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouther teach nor preach; and why may not I as weill be your taylor, thocht I can nouther shape nor sew; seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to ane taylor?" James immediately perceived the object of his petition, and scrupled not to divert himself at the expence of the enraged ecclesiastics[1].

Lindsay's hostility to the church of Rome is generally considered as the principal source of his disappointments. The Reformation was now advancing with gradual steps: and at an early stage of its progress he had boldly avowed his attachment. "The Scotch," says a celebrated writer, "from that philosophical and speculative cast which characterises their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the catholic worship made no impression on a people whose devotion sought only for solid gratification; and who had no notion that the interposition of the senses could with any propriety be admitted to coöperate in

[1] H. Charters, Preface to Lindsay's Works.

an exercise of such a nature, which appealed to reason alone, and seemed to exclude all aids of the imagination[j]."

To the consummation of this glorious undertaking, whose benignant influence we at the present moment feel and acknowledge, the literary compositions and personal consequence of Lindsay seem to have contributed with powerful effect. His writings tended to prepare the public mind for a systematic attempt towards the overthrow of papal superstition, and the establishment of the more rational doctrines and forms of Protestantism. The Papists regarded him as an adversary not less dangerous than Buchanan and Knox[k]. His learning and experience qualified him for regulating the unsteady views of those who possessed zeal without knowledge: and it is probable that he assisted the Reformers in many of their important deliberations. He is enumerated among those who in 1547 counselled the ordination of John Knox[l]; in whom his penetration must readily have discovered that energy of mind which qualified him for the arduous task which he was destined to perform. Knox, it is

j Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 321.

k "Knoxii, Lindsayi, Buchanani, Villoxii, aliorum, impia scripta incautorum manibus teruntur: opus erat antidoto, ne latiùs venenum serperet."

DEMPSTER. Scotia Illustrior, p. 54. Lugd. Bat. 1620, 8vo.

l Knox's Historie of the Reformatioun, p. 76.

true, was not elevated above the frailties incident to humanity; but he was undoubtedly a man of undaunted fortitude, of undeviating probity, and of fervent piety; a man who pursued the splendid object in view with an ardour of mind which no opposition could quench, and with a steadiness of perseverance which no danger could diminish. Of the character of an individual who had so conspicuously distinguished himself at the downfall of a church, whose unholy priests had long been accustomed to revel amid the precious spoils of a deluded nation, it would have been unreasonable to expect that a disappointed faction should exhibit a very favourable representation[m]: but when in the present age those who aspire to the prostituted title of philosopher, begin to vie with each other in loading a public benefactor with opprobrious epithets, they evince themselves to be swayed by such prejudices as beset the most ignorant of mankind. Let Knox be judged by the maxims of his own age, and his character will be pronounced illustrious.

In the year 1531 Lindsay had the honour to be employed on an embassy to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; whom he found residing at

[m] James Laing, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, has drawn the character of Knox with ruthless liberality: "Vix excesserat jam ex ephebis, cum patris sui uxorem violarat, suam novercam vitiarat, et cum ea, cui reverentia pedis imbuendi debita fuerat, nefarium stuprum fecerat.——Rumor erat impium hæreticum nocturnos conventus et clandestina colloquia cum

Brussels[n]. This important trust affords sufficient grounds for concluding that he was then regarded with a more favourable eye. And in 1537, when Mary of Guise landed in Scotland, he exercised his ingenuity in contriving the pageants which were displayed at St Andrews. "She was received," says Robert Lindsay, "at the New Abbey-gate; upon the east side thereof there was made to her a triumphant arch by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon Herald, which caused a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open instantly; and there appeared a fair lady most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her

cocodæmone, cui se totum dederat, sæpenumero habuisse, ita quòd ejus meretrix forte eum interrogaret, quis esset ille niger homo cum quo nocte superiori locutus fuerat; quod verbum tam iniquo animo tulit, quòd illa proximo die esset extincta, sed quomodo id acciderat nemo intellexit. Tamen nihilominus vix elatum fuit funus, cùm ille taurus quartæ aut quintæ meretricis novo inflammatur amore. At impudentissimus maximeque lascivus caper, cùm jam gelidus totus haberet sanguis, satis etiam tardante senectâ, nec non frigerent languidæ et effœtæ in corpore vires, cœpit principum et nobilium virorum filias quærere, cum quibus publice scortari posset." Laingæus *De Vita et Moribus Haereticorum*, f. 113. b. Paris. 1581, 8vo. These observations are too gross to be entitled to a serious refutation from any writer of the present age. A similar character of Knox has been exhibited by Archibald Hamilton, in his dialogue *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos*, Paris. 1577, 8vo: but the impotent malignity of such writers is zealously exposed by Principal Smeton. (*Ad Virulentum Hamiltonii Dialogum Orthodoxa Responsio*. Edinb. 1579, 4to.)

[n] Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 310.

Grace; with certain orations and exhortations made by the said Sir David Lindsay to the queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her husband, and keep her body clean, according to God's will and commandments[o]."

When the Earl of Arran was appointed regent, hopes seem to have been entertained that he would approve himself a steady friend to the cause of reformation; but the facility of his disposition rendered him too apt to veer from one party to another. Lindsay is enumerated among those who adhered to him while he continued to act in conformity to the principles which they avowed[p].

After that period he appears to have lived in a state of dignified retirement. Spotswood informs us that he "died in a good age": but Mackenzie, I know not on what authority, affirms that he "died towards the latter end of the year 1553, being very aged[q]." This statement is probably erroneous. During that year Lindsay was engaged in the composition of his dialogue, or, as it is commonly termed, *The Monarchie*. Computing the probable duration of the world, he reckons, according to the vulgar calculation, five thousand five hundred and fifty-three years from

[o] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 250.

[p] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 73. 97.

[q] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 37.

the creation till the period of his writing. He appears to have survived till the year 1567. On the twenty-second day of February, 1567, Sir William Stewart was inaugurated in the office lyon king of arms[r]: and Lindsay seems to have retained the situation till the time of his decease. In 1513 Sir David Lindsay was a *special servant* to K. James the Fourth; and at that period must at least have been about twenty years of age. If he survived till the year 1567, he must according to this computation have reached the age of seventy-four.

His character has always been represented as highly respectable. Archbishop Spotswood, speaking of the eminent men who adorned this æra of our history, proceeds in the following manner: "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount shall be first named; a man honorably descended, and greatly favored by K. James the Fifth. Besides his knowledge and deep judgment of heraldry (whereof he was the chief) and in other publick affairs, he was most religiously inclined; but much hated by the clergy for the liberty he used

[r] Birrel's Diarey, p. 14. apud Dalyell.—Stewart was undoubtedly the immediate successor of Lindsay. In his collection of blazonings, Lindsay has inserted his own coat of arms: and those of the four succeeding lyon kings of arms have been subjoined by some more recent hand. The catalogue stands thus: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1542, Sir William Stewart, 1567, Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet, 1568, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1592, and Sir James Lindsay of Annitland, 1621.

in condemning the superstition of the time, and rebuking their loose and dissolute lives. Nottheless, he went unchallenged, and was not brought in question; which shewed the good account wherein he was held[s]." To the testimony of this venerable prelate we may subjoin that of Dr John Johnston:

Mellifluj cantûs Syren dulcissima, qualem
Scotigenæ Aonides et recinunt et amant;
Deliciæ regum, tituloque ac nomine regis;
Hoc fuerat nato quod fuit antè patri:
Quàm Musis charus, quàm diis quoque regibus olim,
Tam verâ placuit religione Deo[t].

Of the works of Lindsay, various editions have appeared. "The Testament and Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo" was printed at London by John Byddell in the year 1538. His "Dialog of the Miserabill Estait of this Warld betuix Experience and ane Courteour," together with "The Papingo," "The Dreme," "The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene," and "The Tragedie of the Cardinal," was "imprentit at the command and expensis of Doctor Macabeus in Copmanhouin" about the year 1553. "The place," says Mr Pinkerton," is false; and the book was in all likelihood printed in London[u]." That it was however actually printed

[s] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 97.
[t] Johnston. Heroes Scoti, p. 27. Ludg. Bat. 1603, 4to.
[u] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. civ.

at Copenhagen, is by no means improbable. It is at least certain that Dr Macbeth or *Macabeus* was not a fictitious but a real person; and that his religious principles were congenial with those of Lindsay. In 1534 the persecution which prevailed in Scotland compelled John Macbeth, with Alexander Hales[v] and other scholars, to fly for refuge to foreign countries[w]: and he is reported to have obtained a professorship in the University of Copenhagen[x]. "The Monarchie," "The Papingo," "The Dreme," and "The Tragedie of the Cardinal," were "imprentit at the command and expensis of Maister Sammuel Jascuy, in Paris" in the year 1558. "How Lindsay's works," says Mr Pinkerton, "so inimical to Rome, could be printed at Paris, it is hard to imagine; and I suspect the true place was Rouen in Normandy, a town where different Hugonot books appeared." In an edition of these three productions, together with "The Complaint of Schir Dauid Lyndesay," printed at Edinburgh by John Scot for Henry

[v] An account of Hales may be found in Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. i. p. 156. Bayle quotes "Jacobi Thomasii Oratio de Alexandro Alesio," printed, together with several others, at Leipzig in the year 1683.

[w] Petrie's Hist. of the Catholick Church, cent. xvi. p. 172.

[x] In the oration of Gilbert Gray, which Dr Macfarlane has prefixed to his lives, he is improperly mentioned by the name of Christian Macbeth. Mr Petrie informs us that he was chaplain to Christian King of Denmark.—"Sed cum bonarum literarum cultura formatus, suspiciendus posteris vivebat Christianus Macabeus Scotus, Professor Hafniensis, qui scripsit *De Vera et Falsa Ecclesia*, &c. Florum anno partæ salutis 1558."

GRAY. Orat. de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, p. xxxi.

Charters in 1568, mention is made of "the imprentingis of Rowen and London;" a circumstance which serves to strengthen the above conjecture. Lindsay's works, says another editor, "haue bene imprentit in Rowen, bot altogidder sa corrupt and fals, that na man can be abill to atteine the authouris minde be them. They are likewise laitlie imprentit in Londoun, with litill better succes[s]." No collective London edition prior to that of 1566 has hitherto been discovered. In this the poems are injudiciously translated into English. Other impressions appeared at Edinburgh in 1574, 1588, 1592, and 1597. An edition of "The Testament and Complaint of the Papingo," was printed by Bassantin of Edinburgh in the year 1574: and during the following year an Anglicised edition of "The Monarchie" appeared at London. "The Historie of ane Nobil and Walzeand Squyer, William Meldrum, vmquhyle Laird of Cleische and Dynnie," was inserted in the edition of his works undertaken by Henry Charters in 1592; and republished, in a separate form, in 1594 and 1602. This poem is also to be found among Mr Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems*. The "Satyre of the Thrie Estaits, in Commendatioun of Vertew and Vitupe[r]atioun of Vyce," was printed by Robert Charters in the year 1602, and has lately been reedited in the above collection of Mr Pinkerton.

[1] H. Charters, Preface to Lindsay's Works.

All these early editions are in quarto. There are many later impressions of little or no value: being intended for the use of the common people, they are generally found devested of the ancient orthography[z].

We are informed by Dr Mackenzie that various works of Lindsay were printed at Edinburgh in the year 1540: but Mr Pinkerton has affirmed that no Protestant book could be printed at Edinburgh till 1567, the year in which Queen Mary was deposed; and he is therefore persuaded that the first genuine Scotish edition of Lindsay's works was that which made its appearance in 1568. No impression of an earlier date can indeed be discovered: but the accuracy of these conclusions may perhaps be disputed. Protestant books, however obnoxious to the existing government, might in a clandestine manner be printed long before the period which he has specified. Lindsay is known to have satirized the Catholics in a play represented before the court by permission of the king himself[a]: and the same obnoxious play was afterwards exhibited before the queen regent, who was sufficiently attached to the old faith[b]. Such was the

[z] Lindsay's poetical works, with the omission of various passages, have however been lately reprinted in a more correct form by Mr Sibbald, in his *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*. Edinb. 1802, 4 vols. 8vo.

[a] See the Dissertation on the Early Scotish Drama, p. 208.

[b] "Na les eruist and vehement," says H. Charters, "was he aganis hem in his fairsis and publict playis, quhairin he was verray craftic and

power of the Reformers, that even so early as the year 1562 they procured the imprisonment of John Scot, a printer who had undertaken the impression of one of the Catholic treatises of Dr Ninian Winzet[c]. The compositions of Lindsay, if not printed in Scotland before the year 1568, appear at least to have been circulated with little reserve. In 1558 the convocation passed an act "that Sir David Lindsay's book should be abolished and burnt[d]."

Bale informs us that Lindsay wrote *Acta sui Temporis*[e]; and the same work is likewise mentioned by Principal Gray[f]. As however it is highly probable that such a composition never existed, we may spare ourselves the labour of forming conjectures with regard to its nature. Dr Mackenzie asserts that he was the author of a history of Scotland; and, for this statement, quotes the authority of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie[g]. The only apparent foundation for such a report is a passage in the preface; where he remarks that in collecting his materials, he was "instructed and learned, and lately informed by

excellent. Sic ane spring he gaue them in the play playit beside Edinburgh in presence of the Quene Regent, and ane greit part of the nobilitie, with ane exceiding greit nowmer of pepill."

[c] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 540.

[d] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 315.

[e] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 224.

[f] Gray. Orat. de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, p. xxx.

[g] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 37.

thir authors as after follow; to wit, Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Sir William Scot of Balwirie, Knight, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, Knight, Mr John Major, Doctor of Theology, who wrote his chronicle hereupon, and also Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Knight, alias Lyon King of Arms, with Andrew Wood of Largo, principal and familiar servant to King James V. Andrew Fernie of that ilk, a nobleman of recent memory, Sir William Bruce of Earlshall, Knight, who hath written, very justly, all the deeds since Flodden field." But it is obvious that of these individuals two only are to be regarded as historians: and the anecdotes for which he was indebted to the rest, must have been communicated by verbal intercourse. Dr John Mair and Sir William Bruce are carefully distinguished as authors of historical productions.

In the Advocates Library are two of Lindsay's MSS. on subjects of heraldry. The one is entitled "Collectanea Domini Dauidis Lindesay de Mounthe, Militis, Leonis Armorum Regis;" the other "Injunctiounis set furth be Sir Dauid Lindsay and his brethrene Herralds to be obseruit be the Officiars of Armes within this Realme." The former, notwithstanding its Latin title, is also written in the Scotish language.

The same library contains a miscellaneous collection of blazonings, apparently executed by Lindsay's own hand. The volume has no title-

page; but the subsequent inscription ascertains its author: "The Armes of S^r^ Dauid Lindesay of the Mont, Knycht, alias Lion King of Armes, autor of this present buke." The blazonings are interspersed with a few slight notices; and are introduced by the following verses, which may be supposed to have been written by Lindsay:

Si spectare cupis preclara insignia regum,
Illustre heroum semideumque genus,
Et clarûm exardens quos dedit ad sidera virtus,
Et quibus hac vitâ gloria major erat,
Ut paucis sapias, hæc sunt insignia quorum
Defensa invicto Scotia marte fuit:
Cùm patriæ fortes animam effudere superbam,
Talia pro meritis sunt monimenta data,
Nobilium ut moneant animos pro ingentibus actis
Premia quæ exemplis postera turba colat:
Mirâ arte et miris, ut cernis, picta figuris,
Ordine quæque suo versa tabella dabit.

At the bottom of the page appears this inscription in a more recent hand: "1630. Jacobus Balfourius, Kynardiæ Miles, Leo Armorum Rex."

A letter from Lindsay to the lord secretary of Scotland, written at Antwerp in the year 1531, has lately been published[h]. Two portraits of him, copied from the wooden vignettes prefixed to editions of his works[i], are to be found in the first volume of Mr Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems*.

[h] Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. xviii.

[i] Paris, 1558, 4to. Edinburgh, 1634, 8vo.

Lindsay's gallery in the old church of Monimail was distinguished by the following inscription, probably written by himself:

> Thy hairt prepair, thy God in Chryst ador,
> *Mount* up by grace, and then thou's come to glore.

The word *Mount* may perhaps be supposed to bear a quibbling allusion to Lindsay's family-seat.

We are now arrived at an æra of Scotish literature which was adorned by the genius of Buchanan, Wilson, Boyce, and Mair, of Dunbar, Douglas, Lindsay, and Bellenden. In the course of the sixteenth century classical and theological learning had begun to be more generally diffused: many of our countrymen, after having visited the continental universities, had at length returned to disseminate the principles of polite knowledge, as well as the new tenets which characterized this eventful crisis.

Vernacular poetry was most assiduously cultivated in Scotland at a period when it seems to have been in a great measure neglected in England. An English critic has remarked that "the interval between the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VIII. which comprehends near a century, although uncommonly rich in Scotch poets of distinguished excellence, does not furnish us with

a single name among the natives of England deserving of much notice[1]."

About the period when Lindsay began his poetical career, those causes which at length produced a radical change in the national form of worship, were operating with visible efficacy: the secret springs of vigorous action were nearly wound to a sufficient pitch; and a brave people was about to vindicate those religious rights which can never be alienated without a total deprivation of political freedom. Although a bolder spirit of enquiry was thus promoted, yet it cannot be affirmed that poetry derived immediate and obvious advantages from the revolution. The compositions of such of our poets as embraced the reformed religion are generally inferior to those of their Catholic predecessors. The unostentatious genius of the Presbyterian discipline is less congenial to a poetical imagination than the pomp and parade of the Romish superstition. The one addresses the eternal principle of reason; the other takes possession of those outer posts of intellection, the senses.

Zeal is often blind and inefficacious. The early poets of the Reformation have exhibited performances which can only obtain the praise due to good intentions.

Of the more splendid beauties of poetry the compositions of Lindsay present but few vestiges.

[1] Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 312.

They are however amply replenished with good sense, which Horace justly regards as the foundation of literary excellence. And to this quality, which does not necessarily imply any unusual powers of execution, he unites a liveliness of fancy that often captivates the mind. His satire is pointed and unrestrained. The freedom with which he exposes vice, even when it attaches itself to royalty, has stamped his works with the character of intrepid sincerity. The objection however which has been urged against Juvenal, may with equal propriety be applied to Lindsay: he sometimes exposes vice in the language of the vitious.

Lindsay presents us with many curious prospects of society and manners: and although his delineations may in various instances be regarded as somewhat coarse, they are always faithful or picturesque. In this respect his writings are highly valuable, and ought to be accurately inspected by those who direct their attention more particularly to the civil or ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

In almost every poem which he has composed, we find severe but well-founded reflections on the ignorance and immorality of the Catholic clergy. If therefore the notion be just, that "malevolence to the clergy is seldom at a great distance from irreverence of religion[k]," Lindsay

[k] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. ii. p. 102.

has perpetually exposed himself to the charge of impiety. But this position of Dr Johnson, as it reduces good and evil to the same standard, may safely be controverted. Among the descendants of Abraham only was the order of priesthood sanctioned by divine approbation: but a religious establishment in any other nation, whether, with Dr Warburton, we regard it as voluntarily allied to the civil power, or, with others, as a mere appendage or necessary instrument of the latter, cannot be unconditionally venerated by the various members of the state. The ministers of religion are subject to the common infirmities of humanity, and are only respectable in proportion as they are virtuous[1].

That Lindsay should have found leisure to acquire the varied knowledge which he evidently possessed, cannot but excite our surprise when we reflect that he led the unquiet life of a courtier. His profound skill in heraldry has often been extolled; and he appears to have been much conversant in history and theology. His acquaintance with Latin authors, ancient as well as modern, was undoubtedly extensive: but to the unpolluted fountains of Grecian literature he

[1] Sed nec me oppedere cœlo
Crede, nec in divos redivivam attollere Phlegram:
Namque ego sum teneris semper veneratus ab annis
Pontifices, sancto que patres, quos candida virtus
Reddidit æternâ dignos in secula famâ.

Pugnax

seems never to have approached. When he mentions a Greek writer, he speaks in the unsatisfactory accents of ignorance. Overlooking Homer, he has denominated Hesiod the sovereign poet of Greece. His critical judgments of the Latin writers are sometimes vague or fortuitous: to Ennius he unhappily applies the epithet *ornate*.

His versification is easy and agreeable. His style often approaches towards elegance, but, like that of Douglas, is overloaded with extraneous terms. *Prepotent*, *pulchritude*, *celsitude*, *condign*, *dolent*, are words which occur in the compass of one short stanza.

"In the works of Sir David Lindsay," says Mr Ellis, "we do not often find, either the splendid diction of Dunbar, or the prolific imagination of Gawin Douglas; perhaps, indeed, his Dream is the only composition which can be cited as uniformly poetical: but his various learning, his good sense, his perfect knowledge of courts and of the world, the facility of his versification, and, above all, his peculiar talent of adapting himself to readers of all denominations, will continue to secure to him a considerable share of that popularity, for which he was originally indebted to the opinions he professed, no less than to his poetical merit[m].

[m] Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 21.

His *Dialog of the Miserabill Estait of this Warld* is not, as it has sometimes been represented, a tedious detail of well-known events, but a work replete with various learning, and enlivened by the pointed remarks of a perspicacious mind. It appears to have been composed during his old age, and may therefore be regarded as comprizing the accumulated maxims of a long life of alternate action and contemplation. It has been unfaithfully characterized as a meagre compendium of universal history. The poet's principal object is not to narrate events, but, by means of the great occurrences recorded in sacred or prophane history, to illustrate general positions: and although in the prosecution of this design he may occasionally appear somewhat tedious, yet for the most part he is so fortunate as to prevent attention from languishing. His pages present us with contributions to the history of manners, with specimens of the learning which was then cultivated and with prospects of the deplorable state of a tottering church.

Musing on the wretchedness and instability incident to human affairs, the poet early in a summer morning enters a pleasant field, and is there accosted by a venerable old man named Experience. He informs this reverend stranger that he has at length resolved to abandon the court, and to employ the remainder of his life in preparation for death; and he expresses a wish to be in-

structed in the most practicable method of obtaining tranquillity. The answer returned by Experience has often been found too true: Earthly happiness is a shadow which no man need pursue; and human life is a state of warfare and tribulation.

This reflection being presented to his mind, he begins to enquire concerning the origin of evil: and the momentous question is discussed in the course of their long conference. But previous to his entering into detail, he offers a sensible apology for writing in his native language; and thence takes occasion to expose the absurdity of that maxim which prohibits the body of the people from reading the sacred scriptures. Pearls, say the Romanists, must not be cast before swine: children, as well as adults, may experience the benefits of fire and water; and yet their parents must be careful to guard them against those dangerous elements[n].

Having taken a review of the most remarkable events recorded by Moses, and of the progress of the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, he next proceeds to treat of the spiritual monarchy of the pope. Against the corruptions of the church of Rome he inveighs with wonder-

[n] The decrees of popes and the sentiments of eminent Catholic writers, relative to the expediency of permitting the scriptures to be read in the vulgar tongues, have been collected by Jacobus Laurentius, in his illiberal animadversions on Grotius. (Laurentii *Hugo Grotius Papizans*, p. 194. Amst. 1642, 8vo.)

ful boldness, and in a spirit of manly indignation. Of the downfal of the papal grandeur we meet with the following prediction:

Appeirandlie it may be kend,
Quod he, thair gloir sall haue an end;
I mene thair temporall monarchie
Sall turne intill humilitie:
Throw Goddis word, without debait,
Thay sall turne to thair first estaite.
As Danielis prophesie appeiris,
Thairto sall nocht be mony zeiris.

Towards the conclusion of the poem, he speculates on death, judgment, and celestial beatitude. One passage is too remarkable to be overlooked:

To God alone the day bene knawin,
Quhilk neuer was to nane angell schawin;
Howbeit, be diuers coniectouris
And principal expositouris
Of Daniell and his prophecie,
And be the sentence of Elie;
Quhilkis hes declarit, as they can,
How lang it is sen the warld began,
And for to schaw hes done thair cure
How lang thay traist it sall indure,
And als how mony ages bene,
As in thair warkis may be sene.
Bot till declair thir questiounis,
Thair bene diuers opiniounis.
Sum wryteris hes the warld deuydit
In sex ages, as bene decydit;

Into *Fasciculus Temporum*
And *Cronica Cronicorum*:
Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The warld deuydit is in thrie,
As cunning Maister Carioun [o]
Hes maid plaine expositioun;
How Elie sayis, without weir,
The warld sall stand ser thousand zeir:
Of quhome I follow the sentence,
And lattis other buikis go hence.
From the creation of Adam
Twa thousand zeir till Abraham;
From Abraham, be this narratioun,
To Christis incarnatioun,
Richt sa hes bin twa thousand zeiris:
And be thir prophecyis appeiris,
From Christ, as they mak till us kend,
Twa thousand till the warldis end:
Of quhilkis ar by gone sickerlie
Fyue thousand fiue hundreth thre and fyftie:
And sa remanis to come, but weir,
Four hundreth with sèuin and fourtie zeir;
And than the Lord omnipotent
Suld cum untill his greit iudgement [p].

[o] The *Fasciculus Temporum* is the production of Wernerus Rolewinck de Laer, a Carthusian monk of St Barbara at Cologne. He was a native of Westphalia, and died in the year 1502. (Vossius *De Historicis Latinis*, p. 569.) The *Chronica Chronicorum* of Hartmannus Schedelius was printed at Nuremburg in 1493. Trithemius characterizes him as "ingenio præstans et clarus eloquio." For a particular account of the chronicle of Carrio, consult Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 56.

[p] A similar computation may be found in Wedderburn: "I vil arme me vith the croniklis of Master Ihone Carior, quhar he allegis the prophesye of Helie, seyand, that fra the begynnyng of the varld on to the consummatione of it, sal be the space of sex thousand zeir," &c. (*Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 54.)

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The verity of this prediction cannot yet be ascertained: but that of his countryman Napier has failed of its accomplishment. "The day of God's judgement," says Napier, "appeares to fall betwixt the yeares of Christ 1688 and 1700[q]."

[q] Napier's Plaine Discovery of the Revelation of St John, p. 12. edit. Edinb. 1645, 4to.—This illustrious man seems to have paid some attention to the study of poetry. In his curious treatise he has versified "certain notable prophecies extract out of the books of Sibylla," which without any apparent scruple he regards as genuine. His work is prefaced by the following address to Antichrist:

The book this bill sends to the beast,
Craving amendment now in heast.

God first to John in Pathmos me presents,
Who sent me syne the seven kirks untill.
As forth I foore with the two testaments,
God's truth to teach in witnessing his will,
Thou, bloody beast! us cruelly did kill,
In sack of schismes syling up our sense:
Our corps unkind then stonished lay still,
Till seventy years eighteen times passed hence.
But now since come is untill audience
God's word from heaven, the voyce of verity,
Quickening these corps with true intelligence,
So long supprest by thy subtility;
I plain proclaime and proove by prophecy,
That thou, O Rome! rais'd up on hills seven,
City supream and seate of sodomy,
Under whose reign our Lord to death was driven,
And our martyrs rudely rent and riven,
Art heire and eroy to great Babylon;
Whereby her name God hath to thee given.
Thou whore! thou sit'st the bloody beast upon:
Thy dayes are done, thy glory now is gone:
Burnt shalt thou be, and made a den of devils.
Flee from her then, my flock; leave her alone,
Lest that ye be partaker of her evills:

To form a copious selection of striking and poetical passages which occur in the four books of *The Monarchie*, would be no very difficult task: but when a late writer observes that in many instances Lindsay displays a sublimity of conception which Milton probably disdained not to imitate, we can only admire the boldness of the critic without acquiescing in his decision. It would be equally rational to affirm that Milton borrowed the plan of his great poem from Sir Richard Maitland.

A Latin version of this dialogue was undertaken by David Carnegie of Aberdeen; but the scheme was defeated by his premature death[r].

The next poem in the order of the volume is "The Testament and Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo King James the Fyft, lyand sair woundit, and may not die till everie man haue hard quhat scho sayis; quhairfoir, gentill reidaris, haist zow that scho wer out of paine." The object of this work is to admonish the king and his courtiers, and to satirize the dissolute ecclesiastics. The poet undoubtedly discovers much humour and good sense: but most of the strictures might have proceeded from himself with more propriety than from a parrot. The following passage may be quoted as a favourable specimen:

> For doth at hand aproach the latter day
> When Christ his church shall reign with him for aye.

[r] Gray. Orat. de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, p. xxxi.

Dame Chastitie did steill away for schame,
Fra time scho did persaue thair puruiance.
Dame Sensuall a letter gart proclame,
And hir exylit Italie and France.
In Ingland couth scho get none ordinance.
Than to the king and court of Scotland
Scho markit her withouttin mair demand.

Traisting into that court to get comfort,
Scho maid hir humbill supplicatioun.
Schortly thay said scho suld get na support;
But boisted hir with blasphematioun :—
To priestis ga mak zour protestatioun;
It is, said thay, mony ane hundreth zeir
Sen Chastitie had ony entres heir.

Tyrit for trauell, scho to the preistis past,
And to the rewlaris of religioun.
Of hir presence schortly thay war agast;
Sayand thay thocht it bot abusioun
Hir to resaue; sa with conclusioun,
With ane auise, decretit and gaue dome,
Thay wald resset na rebell out of Rome.

The concluding thought seems peculiarly happy.

The Dreme has been characterized by Warton and Ellis as the most poetical of Lindsay's compositions.—After having spent a long winter night without sleep, the poet rises from his bed, and bends his course towards the sea-shore. His description of the faded appearance of the landscape is finely conceived and elegantly exprest:

I met Dame Flora in dule weid disagysit,
  Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill:
With stalwart stormis hir sweitnes was suprisit;
  Hir heuinly hewis war turnit into sabill,
  Quhilkis vmquhill war to luffaris amiabill.
Fled from the froist, the tender flouris I saw
Under Dame Natures mantill lurking law.

The small fowlis in flockis saw I fle;
  To Nature makand lamentatioun,
Thay lichtit doun beside me on ane tre;
  Of thair complaint I had compassioun;
  And with ane piteous exclamatioun
Thay said, Blissit be Somer with his flouris!
And waryit be thow, Winter, with thy schouris!

Allace Aurora! the sillie lark can cry,
  Quhair hes thow left thy balmy liquour sweit,
That vs reiosit, we mounting in the sky?
  Thy siluer droppis ar turnit into sleit:
  Of fair Phebus quhair is thy holsum heit?
Quhy tholis thow thy heuinly plesand face
With mystie vapouris to be obscurit allace?

He enters a cave, and purposes "to register in rhyme some merry matter of antiquity;" but finding himself opprest and languid, he wraps himself in his cloak and is overpowered by sleep. He fancies himself accosted by a beautiful female named Remembrance; who conducts him to many unknown regions. They first descend into hell, and there perceive innumerable shoals of popes, emperors, kings, cardinals, bishops, and ba-

rons. Lindsay's notions of the infernal dominions are not very unlike those of Virgil.

Having surveyed this dreary region, they ascend towards heaven, but in their passage visit the sun and the planets: and the poet thus finds an opportunity of entering into some of the more curious speculations of astronomy. They at length pass through the crystalline heaven, and arrive in the celestial kingdom. This leads to brief disquisitions relative to the trinity and the nine orders of angels.

After having contemplated the various divisions of the earth, he enquires concerning the terrestrial paradise, and is presented with a view of its delightful boundaries.

This paradise, of all plesour repleit,
Situate I saw to the orient;
That glorious garth of euery flouris did fleit,
The lustie lilleis, the rosis redolent,
Fresche hailsum frutes indeficient;
Baith herbe and tre thair growis euer grene,
Throw vertew of the temperate air serene.

The sweit hailsum aromatike odouris
Proceding from the herbis medicinall,
The heuinly hewis of the fragrant flouris,
It was ane sicht wonder celestiall.
The perfectioun to schaw in speciall
And ioyis of the regioun deuine,
Of mankinde it excedis the ingyne.

And als sa hie in situatioun,
Surmounting the mid regioun of the air,
Quhair na maner of perturbatioun
Of wedder may ascend sa hie as 'thair.'
Four fludis flowing from ane fontane fair,
As Tygris, Ganges, Euphrates, and Nyle,
Quhilk in the eist transcurris mony ane myle.

The country closit is about full richt
With wallis hie of hote and birning fyre,
And straitly keipit be ane angell brycht
Sen the departing of Adam our grand-chyre,
Quhilk throw his cryme incurrit Goddis ire,
And of that place tynt the possessioun
Baith from him self and his successioun.

To compare Lindsay's description of paradise with that of Milton, may be no unpleasing task:

So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the champain head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access deny'd; and over head up grew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A sylvan scene; and as the ranks ascend
Shade over shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
The verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung;
Which to our general sire gave prospect large
Into this nether empire neighb'ring round:

And higher than that wall a circling row
Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit,
Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colours mix'd.

The difference between these two passages is almost beyond calculation; and yet Lindsay's description is not entirely devoid of poetical merit.

The poet is next gratified with a distant view of his native land. He expresses his astonishment that a country possest of such natural advantages, and inhabited by so ingenious a race of men, should still continue in a hopeless state of poverty. Wealth, replies his conductress, can never enter where policy is not to be found: and equity can only reside with peace. A nation must of necessity be unprosperous, when those who ought to administer justice are guilty of slumbering in the tribunal.—Their attention is now attracted by a very remarkable figure:

And thus as we wer talking to and fro,
We saw ane busteous beirne cum ouir the bent,
But hors, on fute, als fast as he micht go,
Quhais rayment was al raggit reuin and rent,
With visage lene as he had fastit Lent:
And forwart fast his wayis he did auance
With ane richt melancholious countenance;

With scrip on hip, and pykestaff in his hand,
As he had bin purposit to pas fra hame.
Quod I, Gude-man, I wald fane understand,
Gif that ze plesit, to wit quhat wer zour name.

Quod he, My sone, of that I think greit schame:
Bot sen thow wald of my name haue ane feil,
Forsuith thay call me JOHNE THE COMMOUN-WEILL.

Schir Commoun-weill declares his resolution of abandoning a country where he has only experienced neglect or insult from people of every denomination. My friends, says he, are all fled. Policy is returned to France. My sister Justice is no longer able to hold the balance. Wrong is now appointed captain of the ordinance. No Scotishman shall again find favour with me, until the realm be governed by a king who shall delight in equity, and bring strong traitors to condign punishment. "Wo to the realme yat hes ouir zoung ane king." Having closed this pathetic oration, he departs. Remembrance conducts the poet back to the cave on the sea-shore; and he is speedily roused by a discharge of artillery from a vessel which appears under sail.

The Exhortatioun to the Kingis Grace contains several good counsels, delivered with the utmost freedom. *The Complaint directit to the Kingis Grace*, though unadorned with many poetical ornaments, is a valuable and interesting production. It exhibits lively sketches of the author's personal fortunes, of the manners of the times, and of the early education and private character of James the Fifth.

The plan of *The Tragedie of the Cardinal* is similar to that adopted in the *Myrrovr for Ma-*

gistrates[s]. As the poet, after the hour of prime, is sitting in his oratory and reading Boccace *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, he suddenly perceives a wounded man standing before him with pale visage and deadly cheer. His visiter, who proves to be the ghost of Cardinal Beaton, requests him to commit his story to writing, in conformity to the narration which is about to be delivered. To this proposal he readily assents: and the woe-begone cardinal begins a relation of the principal events of his life; but the tale, though sufficiently moral, is not told with much elegance or energy.

In *The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene* many feeble passages occur. This work however is not entirely devoid of poetical beauties. The *Ansuer to the Kingis Flyting* will please such readers as can be pleased with obscenity; a quality which too frequently predominates in the pages of Lindsay. Candour will be inclined to refer this coarseness to the general character of

[s] In the Advocates Library I find an English poem on the same model, inscribed with the name of John Woodward. This neglected MS. is entitled *The Life and Tragedy of the Heroicall Lady, Mary late Queene of Scotts.* It begins,

Baldwin awake! thy pen hath slept tó long.

A prose account of Queen Mary's execution is subjoined. The same library contains another unpublished composition of Woodward's, entitled *Prince Henry his Life, Death, and Funeralles.* This biographical sketch is in prose.

the æra at which he flourished ; and he may at least claim an indulgence which must sometimes be granted to poets of the Augustan age.

The Complaint and Publict Confessioun of the Kingis Auld Hound callit Basche is a production of no very remarkable features. In his *Supplicatioun direct to the Kingis Grace in Contemptioun of Syde Taillis*, he evinces himself a zealous reformer of manners. He seems to have contemplated *side tails* and *muzzled faces* with an unnecessary degree of alarm : but, like a good Christian, he recollected that a long tail proceeds from pride, and pride from the Devil. In the warmth of his zeal to reform others, he has, like many other satirists, neglected himself : several of his expressions are rank and gross.

Kitteis Confessioun, " compylit as is beleuit, be S. Dauid Lyndesay," contains several happy strokes of humour. It is a well-directed satire against the absurd practice of auricular confession, and may safely be regarded as the composition of Lindsay. The sanctified lasciviousness of a father confessor is depicted with no unskilful pencil :

Quhen scho was talkand as scho wist,
The curate Kittie wald haue kist ;
But zit ane countenance he bure
Degest, devoit, dane, and demure. - - -
Quhen scho in minde did mair reuolue.
Quod he, I can not zou absolue :

But to my chalmer cum at ewin,
Absoluit for to be and schreuin.
Quod scho, I will pas to ane vther;
And I met with Sir 'Androwis' brother,
And he full clenelie did me schriue;
Bot he was sum thing talkatiue:
He speirit monie strange cace;
How that my lufe did me embrace,
Quhat day, how oft, quhat sort, and quhair?—
Quod he I wald I had bin thair.
He me absoluit f r ane plak,
Thocht he with me na price wald mak;
And mekil Latine did he mummill;—
I hard na thing bot *hummill hummill.*

The Justing betuix James Watsoun and John Barbour, a poem which comprises the only specimen of the heroic couplet that Lindsay has exhibited, may be considered as a successful attempt at ludicrous composition. The following quotation will perhaps support this decision:

From time thay enterit war into the feild,
Full womanlie they weildit speir and scheild,
And wichtlie waiuit in the wind thair heillis,
Hobland like cadgeris rydand on thair creillis.
B t ather ran at vther with sic haist,
Yat they culd neuer yair speir get in the raist.
Quhen gentil James trowit best with Johne to meit,
His speir did fall amang the horsis feit.
I am richt sure, gud James had bene vndone,
V ar not that Johne his mark tuk be the mone.
Quod Johne, Howbeit thou thinkis my leggis like reks,
My spe ir is guid: now keip thé fra my knoks.

Tary, quod James, ane quhile: for, be my thrift,
The feind ane thing I can se bot the lift.
Na mair can I, quod Johne; be Goddis breid,
I se na thing except the stepill heid.
Zit thocht thy branis be like twa barrow trammis,
Defend thé, man! Than ran thay to like rammis.
At that rude rink, James had bin strikkin doun,
War not that Johne for feiresnes fell in swoun: ..
And richt sa James to Johne had done greit deir,
War not twixt his hors feit he brak his speir.
Quod James to Johne, Yit, for our ladeis saikis,
Let us togidder strike thre market straikis.

Squyer Meldrum displays a lively vein of description: but although the work comprehends a narrative of considerable extent, it is not constructed with much attention to the general rules of criticism. The poetical effect is not always secured. With regard to the fate of the Irish lady we are left in a situation of disagreeable suspense. To her the squire pledges his faith when about to rejoin his countrymen:

Ladie! I say zou in certane,
Ze sall have lufe for lufe agane,
Trewlie unto my lyfis end.

Yet after his return to Scotland, he meets with a fair paramour in Strathern, and without compunction abandons his former love. The most satisfactory apology which can be offered for Lindsay's deviation from the rules of poetical justice, is that his invention was circumscribed

by the conformity which was due to truth. He professes to have derived a part of his information from the hero of his story : and the romantic adventures of William Meldrum were yet fresh in the memory of his coun rymen [u].

That Lindsay wished to render his deceased friend an object of ridicule can hardly be supposed: yet several passages of *Squyer Meldrum* have an appearance of intentional burlesque. The following verses, for example, resemble the style of Butler :

> Cupido with his fyerie dart
> Did peirs him so out throw the hart,
> Sa all that nicht he did bot murn it,
> Sum tyme sat up, and sum tyme turnit,
> Sichand with monie gant and grane,
> To fair Venus makand his mane.

But in obsolete poetry, it must be recollected, the serious cannot always be readily distinguished from the ludicrous. Terms may be deprived of their original dignity ; and the notions which they express may at length be viewed in a less favourable light. The revolutions of language and manners it would be impossible to anticipate.

Like other productions of that æra, *Squyer Meldrum* sometimes offends by its incongruities :

[u] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 200.

Christian and Pagan theology is strangely blended together; and we are alternately regaled with the names of Venus and the virgin Mary.

Of the notions of female delicacy which then prevailed, this poem furnishes us with a curious illustration. The squire arrives at a castle in Strathern, and falls in love with its fair owner. Being conducted to his bed-chamber, he continues to meditate on her charms, and at length begins to vent his passion in loud ejaculations. From her adjoining apartment the lady overhears the soliloquy of her accomplished and heroic guest, and immediately determines that his love shall be duly rewarded.

This was the mirrie tyme of May;
Quhen this fair ladie fresche and gay,
Start up to take the hailsum air,
With pantonis on hir feit ane pair,
Airlie into ane cleir morning,
Befoir Phœbus uprising,
Kirtill alone withoutin clok,
And saw the squyris dure unlok.
Scho slippit in or euer he wist,
And fenyeitlie past till ane kist,
And with her keyis oppinnit the lokkis,
And maid hir to take furth ane boxe.

The rest may be left to the reader's imagination.—To the voluptuousness or indelicacy of Lindsay's descriptions, abundance of parallels may

be found. When such qualities occur, they must either be referred to the contagion of bad example, to the peculiar complexion of the writer's mental associations, or to an unhappy union of both those causes. When an author merely conforms to the general taste of his cotemporaries, he is by no means guilty of the same impropriety as must be imputed to him who shocks the moral feelings cherished by a purer age. A religious theist has remarked, that if, on his death-bed, Congreve could without remorse contemplate the immoral tendency of his writings, he must have been callous to every virtuous impression [u].

[u] Kames, Elements of Criticism, vol. i. p. 5.

THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN BELLENDEN, D. D.

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ALTHOUGH the life of Bellenden has been written by his ingenious countryman Dr Campbell, yet it still remains involved in considerable obscurity: and the scantiness of our biographical materials will not permit us to hope for much novelty of illustration.

John Bellenden, according to Dr Mackenzie, was a man of knightly rank, and the son of Thomas Bellenden of Auchinoul. It is further asserted that he was appointed Clerk Register during the minority of James the Fifth; that being deprived of his office, it was restored to him in the reign of Queen Mary; and that during the

latter period he was also nominated a Senator of the College of Justice [a].

But these statements may be suspected of inaccuracy. Dr John Bellenden is never styled a knight by any of our early writers. Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul was appointed a Lord of Session in 1554 [b]; whereas, if we may credit Dempster, Dr Bellenden died in 1550 [c]. But should Dempster's authority be rejected, we may at least admit that as this knight is known to have continued a member of the court for the space of many succeeding years, the probability of their identity is proportionably diminished.

The arguments which Mr Sibbald has advanced in corroboration of Dr Mackenzie's account, are very far from being satisfactory. "It appears from the Catalogue published by Lord Hailes," observes this writer, "that in 1587 a Dean of Moray, Lord of Session, *r* (resigned) and was succeeded by Mr William Melvill, Commendatair of Tungland. Also, from the Notes and Appendix to Scotstarvet's History, that Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul, Archdean of Moray, was (*not* Clerk Register, but) Justice Clerk from 1547 to 1578. They seem all, there-

[a] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. ii. p. 595.

[b] Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 3.

[c] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scot. p. 107.

fore, to be one and the same person[d]." But, on the contrary, it is evident that this information cannot be combined in such a manner as to apply to the same individual. Dr Bellenden was not Dean but Archdeacon of Murray. The Bellenden who occurs in the catalogue of the Lords of Session is neither styled Dean nor Archdeacon of Murray, but Lord Auchinoul. Instead of resigning in 1587, he only continued a member of the court till 1577, the period of his decease. The testimony of Walter Goodall, the editor of Sir John Scot's *Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, is of little importance; as his principal information is evidently derived from no better source than the biography of Dr Mackenzie, and as his statements are manifestly inconsistent with each other[e].

Bellenden's education appears to have been uncommonly liberal[f]. As he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Sorbonne, it may be supposed that he had pursued a regular course of study in the University of Paris. Dr Campbell

[d] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. ii. p. 72.

[e] See Scot's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen, p. 129. 183. Edinb. 1754, 12mo.

[f] "Interea Musarum memoriæ fœliciter litabat Joannes Balantyn, Archidiaconus Moraviensis, accuratissimâ sedulitate in literis à puero usque educatus."

GRAY. Orat. de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, p. xxx.

has remarked that his phraseology occasionally savours of a French education.

As a poet he appears to have obtained early distinction: Sir David Lindsay has mentioned him in the following terms:

> Bot now of laît is start vp haistely
> Ane cunning clark quhilk writis craftely,
> Ane plant of poetis callit Ballendyne,
> Quhais ornat warkis my wit can not defyne:
> Get he into the court authoritie,
> He will precell Quintin and Kennedie.

His qualifications seem indeed to have attracted the regard of the court; but he experienced the common fate of those who are capable of exciting the envy of courtiers. For this information we are indebted to his *Proheme of the Cosmographé.*

> And fyrst occurrit to my remembring
> How that I wes in seruice with the kyng,
> Put to his Grace in zeris tenderest,
> *Clerk of his comptis*, youcht I wes inding,
> With hart and hand and euery othir thing
> That mycht hym pleis in ony maner best,
> Quhill hie inuy me from his seruice kest,
> Be thaym that had the court in gouerning,
> As bird but plumes heryit of the nest.

We afterwards find him on a confidential footing with James the Fifth. His *History of Scot-*

land, a free translation of the first seventeen books of Hector Boyce, was undertaken at the request of that monarch [g]; whose ignorance of the Latin language had probably prevented him from acquiring a competent knowledge of the

[g] This we learn from the following notice: "Heir efter followis the History and Croniklis of Scotland compilit and newly correckit be the reuerend and noble clerke Maister Hector Boece, Channon of Aberdene; translatit laitly be Maister Johne Bellenden, Archdene of Murray, Channon of Ros, at the command of the richt hie, richt excellent, and noble prince, James the V. of that name, King of Scottis; and imprentit in Edinburgh be Thomas Dauidson dwellyng forneus the Frere Wynd."

Thomas Davidson has prefixed an address, consisting of five stanzas, and entitled *The Excusation of the Prentar*. It concludes thus:

And I the prentar that dois considir weil
Thir sindry myndis of men in thair leuing,
Desiris nocht bot on my laubour leil
That I mycht leif, and of my just wynnyng
Mycht first pleis God, and syne our noble kyng;
And that ze reders, bousum and attent,
Wer of my laubour and besynis content.

And in this wark that I haue heir assailzeit
To bring to lycht, maist humely I exhort
Zou nobill reders, quhare that I haue failzeit
In letter, sillabe, poyntis lang or schort,
That ze will of zour gentrice it support,
And tak the sentence the best wyse ze may:
I sall do better (will God) ane othir day.

Bellenden's work was printed in folio, and in black letter. In the public library of the University of Edinburgh is a copy splendidly printed on vellum. It bears this inscription; "Thomas Willson, mercator, me Bibliothecæ Edinburgenæ dono dedit anno Domini 1669."

transactions of his remote predecessors. Into this publication Bellenden has introduced two poems of considerable length, entitled *The Probeme of the Cosmographé*, and *The Probeme of the History*; and has closed the whole by a prose *Epistil direckit be ye Translatoure to the Kingis Grace*. From the initial words which they produce, it would appear that this is the only epistle of his composition with which either Bale or Tanner was acquainted: and yet among his other works they have thought proper to enumerate epistles addrest to King James [h].

If we may credit Dr Mackenzie, this work was printed in the year 1536: but his source of information it would be difficult to discover; for the title-page and colophons exhibit no date. Mr Herbert, without any apparent foundation, mentions the publication of another edition in the year 1541 [i].

Bellenden is reported, I know not with what accuracy, to have continued the history of Scotland for one hundred years succeeding the period at which this narrative closes [j]. A passage in his *Probeme of the History* seems to imply that he had at least formed such a project:

[h] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 223.
Tanner. Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 66.

[i] Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1474.

[j] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 223.

Bring nobyll dedis of mony zeris gone
  Als fresche and recent to our memorie
As thay war bot in to our dayis done,
  That nobyll men may haue baith laud and glorie
  For thair excellent brut of victorie.
And zit becaus my tyme hes bene so schort,
  I thynk, quhen I haue oportunité,
To ring thair bell in to ane othir sort.

Before this period, as appears from his publication, he had been appointed Archdeacon of Murray, and one of the Canons of Ross.

He likewise translated the first five books of Livy: and a manuscript copy of his version is still preserved in the Advocates Library. From a passage in *The Prologue* it appears that this work was also undertaken at the suggestion of King James:

And ze, my souerane, be lyne continewall
  Ay cum of kingis zour progenitouris,
And writis, in ornate stile poeticall,
  Quick flowand vers of rethorik cullouris
  Sa freschlie springand in zoure lusty flouris,
To ye grete comforte of all trew Scottismen,
Be now my Muse, and ledare of my pen;

That be zoure helpe and fauoure gracius,
  I may be able, as ze commandit me,
To follow ye prince of storie, Liuius,
  Quhais curious ressouns tonit ar so hie,
  And euery sens sa full of maiesté,
That so he passis vther stories all,
As siluer Diane dois ye sternis small.

He expresses an intention of executing a complete version of Livy's Roman history; but this formidable task, it is probable, was never performed.

After this period Bellenden visited Rome; where he closed his life in the year 1550[k]. The object of his voyage remains undiscovered. Dr Campbell supposes that he was impelled to abandon his native country by his aversion from the principles of the Reformation. "It may with great probability be conjectured," observes this ingenious biographer, "that the disputes into which he plunged himself on this subject, made him so uneasy, that he chose to quit his native country, to go and reside in a place where that disposition, instead of being a hindrance, would infallibly recommend him." It is certain that he was a strenuous opposer of the Reformers[l]: but many other reasons might induce him to visit the seat of ecclesiastical honours.

Beside the works which have already been mentioned, Bellenden is said to have composed a treatise on the Pythagoric letter. Dr Mackenzie proposes to correct Dempster by substituting *De*

[k] Dempster's words are these: "Obiit Romæ anno, ut puto, 1550." It must be remarked that this is spoken with some degree of hesitation. Dempster and Cone have inadvertently named him *James* instead of John Bellenden.

[l] "*Jacobus* Balandenus Moraviensis ecclesiæ Archidiaconus, in celebri Sorbonæ schola magistri laureâ donatus, summo studio popularium suorum animos heresi laborantes, cùm scribendo tum disputando conatus est liberare."

Conæus de Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 167.

Vita, instead of *De Litera, Pythagoræ*[m]; but this emendation is unnecessary. Bale also mentions the treatise by the same title[n].

Vossius, whose researches were of so prodigious an extent, that they could not always be conducted with extreme accuracy, has committed a mistake in supposing that Bellenden was the author of any original work on cosmography[o]. His *Cosmographia* is evidently his translation of Boyce's preliminary description of Scotland.

Dr Campbell informs us that several of his poems were in the possession of Mr Laurence Dundas[p], probably the Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh.

Of the compositions of a writer who discovers so fine a vein of poetry, it cannot but be regretted that so inconsiderable a portion has been preserved. His poems are the effusions of an excursive fancy and a cultivated taste. He has been extolled as a master of every branch of divine and human learning[q]: and it is at least apparent that his literature was such as his contemporaries did not very frequently surpass.

[m] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. ii. p. 599.

[n] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 223.

[o] Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, p. 252.

[p] Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 573.

[q] *Jacobus* Ballantyn, S. T. D. Archidiaconus Moraviensis, laboriosâ curâ et incredibili studio artes omnes humanas atque etiam divinas percepit."
Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 167.

His attainments have even extorted applause from the zealous Bishop of Ossory, who has so frequently treated the Papists with unrelenting severity[r]. "He was unquestionably," says Dr Campbell, "a man of great parts, and one of the finest poets his country had to boast. So many of his works remain as fully prove this; inasmuch as they are distinguished by that noble enthusiasm which is the very soul of poetry."

The most poetical of his works is *The Probeme of the Cosmographé*[s]. The principal incidents are borrowed from the ancient allegory of the choice of Hercules: but he has imprest his transcript with the characteristic features of an original.

The following quotation, from the speech of Virtue, will scarcely offend a reader whose taste is completely modernized:

As caruell tycht fast tendyng throw the see,
Leuis na prent amang the wallis hie;
As birdis swift with mony besy plume
Peirsis the air and wait nocht quhair thay fle;

[r] Bishop Bale has himself been treated by the Papists with equal harshness. Bishop Gardiner classes him with Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and others of *the deuils lymmes*. See Gardiner's "Detection of the Deuyls Sophistrie wherwith he robbeth the vnlearned people of the true belefe in the moost blessed Sacrament of the aulter," f. lxxxiiii. b. Lond. 1546, 8vo.

[s] Ramsay has published this poem, under the title of *Vertue and Vyce*, in the first volume of *The Ever-Green*. Edinb. 1724, 2 vols. 12mo. Both the *probemes* occur in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. ii.

Siclik our lyfe, without actiuité,
Gyflis na frut, howbeit ane schado blume.
Quhay dois thair lyfe in to this erd consume
Without virtew, thair fame and memorie
Sall vanis soner than the reky fume.

As watter purgis and makis bodyis fair;
As fire be nature ascendis in the aire,
And purifyis with heitis vehement;
As floure dois smell; as frute is nurisare;
As precius balme reuertis thingis sare,
And makis thaym of rot impacient;
As spice maist swete, as ros maist redolent;
As stern of day be mouing circulare
Chacis the nycht with bemis resplendent;

Siclik my werk perfitis euery wycht
In feruent luf of maist excellent lycht,
And makis man in to this erd but peir;
And dois the saule fra all corruptioun dycht
With odoure dulce, and makis it more brycht
Than Diane full or zit Appollo cleir;
Syne rasis it vnto the hiest speir,
Immortaly to schyne in Goddis sycht
As chosin spous and creature most deir.

The following descant on nobility is extracted from his *Probeme of the History:*

For nobylnes sum tyme the louyng is,
That cumis be meritis of our eldaris gone,
As Aristotyll writis in his Rethorikis:
Amang nobillis quhay castin thaym repone

Mon dres thair life and dedis one be one,
To mak thaym worthy to haue memoré,
For honour to thair prince or nation,
To be in glore to thair posterité.

Ane othir kynd thair is of nobylnes,
That cumis be infusion naturall,
And makis ane man sa full of gentylnes,
Sa curtes, plesand, and sa lyberall,
That euery man dois hym ane nobyll call.
The lyon is sa nobyll (as men tellis)
He can not rage aganis the bestis small,
Bot on thaym quhilkis his maiesté rebellis.

The awfull churle is of ane othir strynd.
Thoucht he be borne to vilest seruitude,
Thair may na gentrice sink in to his mynd,
To help his freind or nichtbour with his gud.
The bludy wolf is of the samyn stude.
He feris gret beistis and ragis on the small,
And leiffis in slouchter tyranny and blud,
But ony mercy, quhare he may ouirthrall.

This man is born ane nobyl, thow wyll say,
And geuyn to sleuth and lust immoderat:
All that his eldaris wan he puttis away,
And fra thair virtew is degenerat.
The more his eldaris fame is eleuat,
The more thair lyfe to honour to approche,
Thair fame and louyng ay interminat,
The more is ay vnto his vice reproche.

Amang the oist of Grekis, as we hard,
Two knichtis war, Achylles and Tersete;
That ane maist vailzeand, this othir maist coward.
Better to be (sayis Juuinall the poete)

Tersetis son, hauand Achylles sprete,
With manly force his purpos to fulfyll,
Than to be lord of euery land and strete,
And syne maist cowart cumyn of Achill.

Man callit ay maist nobyll creature,
Becaus his lyfe maist reason dois assay,
Ay sekand honour with his besy cure,
And is na noble quhen honour is away;
Thairfore he is maist nobyll man, thou say,
Of all estatis, vnder reuerence,
That vailzeantly doith close the latter day,
Of natyue cuntré deand in defence.

The glore of armis and of forcy dedis,
Quhen thay ar worthy to be memoryall,
Na les be wyt than manheid ay procedis.
As Plinius wrait in story naturall,
Ane herd of hertis is more strong at all,
Hauand ane lyon anganis the houndis soure,
Than herd of lyonis arrayit in battall,
Hauand ane hert to be thair gouernoure.

Quhen fers Achilles was be Paris slane,
Amang the Grekis began ane subtell plede,
Quhay wes maist nobyll and prudent capitane,
In to his place and armour to succede,
Quhay couth thaym best in euery dangeir lede,
And saif thair honour, as he did afore:
The vailzeand Aiax wan not for his manhede,
Quhen wise Ulisses bure away the glore.

Manhede but prudence is ane fury blynd,
And bringis ane man to schame and indegence:
Prudence but manhede cumis oft behynd,
Howbeit it haue na les intelligence

Of thingis to cum than gone, be sapience.
Thairfore quhen wit and manhede doith concurre,
Hie honour risis with magnificence:
For glore to nobilis is ane groundin spurre.

Sen thow contenis mo vailzeand men and wyse
Than euir was red in ony buke but doubt,
Gif ony churle or velane thé dispyse,
Byd hence hym, harlot! he is not of this rout;
For heir ar kingis and mony nobillis stout,
And nane of thavm pertenand to his clan.
Thou art so full of nobylnes per tout,
I wald nane red thé bot ane nobyll man.

These two poems, as well as the prologue to his translation of Livy, bear internal evidence of having been composed with a view to the instruction of the young monarch.

Two copies of his unpublished prolusion on the conception of Christ are preserved in the Hyndford MSS. The exordium is as follows:

Quhen goldin Phebus movit fra the ram,
Into ye bull to mak his mansioun,
And hornit Diane in ye virgine cam,
With visage paill in hir ascensioun,
Approchand till hir opposicioun;
Quhen donk Aurora with hir misty schouris,
Fleand of skyis the bricht reflexioun,
Hir siluer hewis skalit on ye flouris;

The sesoun quhen the grete Octauian
Baith erd and seis had in governance
With diademe as roy Cesariane
In maist excellent honor and plesaunce

With everye glore yat mycht his fame avaunce
Quhen he ye croun of his triumphe had worne,
Be quhais pece and riall ordinance
The furious Mars wes blawin to ye horne;

The samyne tyme quhen God omnipotent
Beheld of man the grete calamitie,
And thocht ye tyme was than expedient
Man to redeme fra thrall captiuité,
And to reduce him to felicité,
With bodye and saull to be glorificate,
Quhilk wes condempnit in ye lymb to be,
Fra he wes first in syn prevaricate;

Befoir the fader Mercye than apperis,
With flude of teris ranand fra hir ene;
Said, Man hes bene in hell five thousand zeris,
Sen he was maid in feild of Damascene;
And cruell tormentis daylie dois sustene
But ony confort, cryand for mercye.
How may yi grace nocht with yi pietie mene
Off thy awne werk ye grete infirmitie[t]?

[t] These stanzas are published from a MS. which bears the following inscription: *Heir begynis ane Ballat-buik writtin in the zeir of God* 1558. Several of the poems however are evidently written in a more modern hand. This collection, which extends to the number of fifty-four pages, is to be found in the volume that also contains Bannatyne's MS. A copy of *The Song of the Redsquare* occurs in the same venerable tome.

In Mr Pinkerton's appendix to the Maitland poems, these three transcripts are represented as forming the celebrated collection of George Bannatyne: but Mr Pinkerton's information was "furnished by a friend not versed in such matters." "Ane most godlie, mirrie, and lustie rapsodie, maide be sundrie learned Scots poets, and written be George Bannatyne in the tyme of his youth," commences at the sixty-first page of the volume.

Another copy of Bellenden's poem on the conception of Christ occurs at the beginning of Bannatyne's MS. His *Prolog apoun ye Translatioun of Titus Livius* has been inserted in a dissertation prefixed to the late edition of Wedderburn's *Complaynt of Scotland*. Edinb. 1802, 8vo.

INTERMEDIATE SKETCHES.

THE religious zeal which about this time pervaded the nation, naturally operated in directing the poet's attention towards sacred topics. Pious verses were now produced in great abundance: but they are generally of such a character as cannot deeply interest the critic. Such productions as these shall not long detain us from the more agreeable specimens of our early poetry; though in a work of this nature they are perhaps entitled to some degree of notice.

THE most singular collection of Scotish poems of this description is entitled "Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritvall Songs, collectit out of sundrie partes of the Scripture, with sundrie of other Ballates changed out of Prophaine Sanges, for avoyding of Sinne and Harlotrie." This collection was published in the year 1597; and reprinted by Andrew Hart in the year 1602[a].

[a] Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1519.

The last editor informs us that the spiritual songs " have been ascribed to one Wedderburn, of whom we know little. But there were three brothers of that name, all endowed with a poetical talent. The eldest, it has been noticed, wrote tragedies and comedies. The second was first a Catholic, and then turned Protestant. Being persecuted as an heretic by the clergy, he fled to Germany, where he heard Luther and Melancthon. He translated many of Luther's principles into Scotish verse, and changed many obscene songs and rhymes into hymns. After the death of James V. he returned to Scotland. But, having again been accused of heresy, he fled into England, where he probably died about the year 1556. The third brother was vicar of Dundee; and, in learning, is said to have surpassed the other two. He went to Paris, and there associated with the Reformers; and, at Cardinal Beaton's death, returned to his native country. ' He turned the tunes and tenour of many profane ballads into godlie songs and hymnes, which were called the Psalmes of Dundie; whereby he stirred up the affections of many.' Whether this will be esteemed decisive evidence of the author or not, these poems were probably written merely to serve the present occasion; and the more literary reformers might have a share in them. Indeed, the very same expressions are frequently to

be found in their other works. Our author observes he is in prison[b]."

One of the Wedderburns was most probably the author of *The Complaynt of Scotland;* a curious specimen of Scotish prose which has lately been republished.

The author of these poems, however laudable his intentions may have been, has certainly acquired very little honour by his persevering labours. From the preservation of such wretched productions, we are not however authorized to conclude that the general taste of the age was equally debased with that of Wedderburn. Compositions hardly superior in any respect have been published during the eighteenth century: and yet the same period was adorned by such writers as Robertson, Hume, and Ferguson. A specimen of this work was edited by Lord Hailes in the year 1765; and it might have been expected that his selection would satisfy the curiosity of most antiquaries.

Henry Balnaves of Halhill, one of the most distinguished of the Reformers, appears to have been a writer of verse as well as of prose. He was admitted a Senator of the College of Justice in the year 1538[c]. In 1546 he joined the party

[b] Dalyell's Remarks on ane Booke of Godly Songs, p. 35.

[c] Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 2.

which had been concerned in the murder of Cardinal Beaton; and when they were besieged in the castle of St Andrews, he was dispatched to the court of England in order to procure a supply of money[d]. When the fortress at length surrendered to the French, he was conducted among others to the castle of Rouen: and during his confinement, he composed what Knox terms "a comfortable treatise of justification[e]." In 1563 he was nominated among the commissioners for revising *The Book of Discipline*[f]. In 1568 Buchanan, Balnaves, and others, accompanied the Earl of Murray when he visited England for the purpose of meeting Queen Mary's commissioners. His name is on several other occasions mentioned in the public annals of that age. He is characterized by Sir James Melvil as "a godly, learned, wise, and long-experimented counsellor[g]." According to Dr Mackenzie, he died in 1579.

A poem subscribed Balnaves, and beginning "O gallandis all, I cry and call," has been published in the second volume of Ramsay's collection.

[d] Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 7.

[e] "The Confession of Faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God, therto led by faith; &c. Compiled by M. Henry Balnaues, of Halhill, and one of the Lords of Session and Counsell of Scotland, being as prisoner within the old pallaice of Roane, in the yeare of our Lord 1548. Direct to his faithfull brethren, being in like trouble or more, and to all true professours and fauourers of the s ncere worde of God." Edinb. 1584, 8vo.—This work Dr Mackenzie has evidently split into two. (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii. p. 147.)

[f] Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 33.

[g] Melvil's Memoires, p. 27.

The Earl of Glencairn, another steady partizan of the Reformation, was also a cultivator of poetry. One of his productions has been preserved by Knox, under the title of "An Epistle directed from the Holy Hermite of Larites to his brethren the Gray Friers[h]."

James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, is celebrated by Sir David Lindsay as a writer of miscellaneous poetry:

> Quha can say mair than Schir James Inglis sayis
> In ballattis, farsis, and in plesand playis?
> Bot Culros hes his pen maid impotent.

Lindsay here insinuates that his advancement to the abbacy of Culross had withdrawn his attention from poetical studies. Dr Mackenzie, whose life of Inglis is inaccurate even to ridicule, asserts that he was knighted in consequence of his military distinction: but it is evident that he was styled *Sir* because he was a dignified ecclesiastic. K. James the Fourth, in a letter addrest to a Mr James Inglis, gratefully acknowledges his politeness in offering to furnish him with some rare books of alchemy[i]. The abbot was murdered by the laird of Tulliallan in the year 1530[j].

[h] Knox's Historie of the Reformatioun, p. 26.

[i] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 118.

[j] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 415.

The poem entitled *A General Satyre* is by Maitland ascribed to Inglis; but by Bannatyne it is ascribed to Dunbar. To the former of these poets no other composition is attributed in any of the MSS.

JOHN MOFFAT, who was probably another of the pope's knights, is the author of a pious piece of advice *To Remembir the End*[k]. In Bannatyne's MS. the name of Moffat is also subjoined, though in a more modern hand, to the humorous and popular ballad of *The Wife of Auchtermuchty*.

GEORGE BANNATYNE, by whose pious care the works of so many other poets have been preserved, is here entitled to an affectionate tribute of applause. He was himself a writer of verse; and several of his compositions occur in the MS. which has so frequently been mentioned in the preceding pages. Of his personal history no memorials can perhaps be discovered. Mr Tytler, who styles him "one of the canons of the cathedral of Murray[l]," seems to have confounded him with Dr John Bellenden; who was Archdeacon of Murray, and Canon of Ross.

His celebrated collection is prefaced by the following address of *The Wryttar to the Reidaris:*

[k] Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 187.

[l] Tytler's Dissertation on the Scottish Music, p. 245.

Ze reverend redaris, thir workis revolving richt,
Gif ze get crymes correct thame to zour micht,
And curss na clark that cunyngly thame wrait,
Bot blame me baldly brocht this buik till licht
In tenderest tyme quhen knawlege was nocht bricht;
Bot lait begun to lerne and till translait
My copeis auld, mankit, and mvtillait;
Quhais trewth as standis zit haif I, sympill wicht,
Tryd furth: thairfoir excuse sumpairt my stait.

Now ze haif heir this ilk buik so provydit,
That in fyve pairtis it is dewly devydit.
The first conteynis Gods gloir and ouire saluatioun:
The nixt are morale, grave, and als besyd it
Grund in gud counsale: the thrid, I will nocht hyd it,
Ar blyith and glaid, maid for ouire consollatioun:
The ferd of luve and thair richt reformatioun:
The fyift ar tailis and storeis weill dissydit.
Pend as ze pleis: I neid no moire narratioun.

Another address of *The Wryttar to the Redare* occurs at the close of the volume:

Heir endis this buik, writtin in tyme of pest
Quhen we fra labor was compeld to rest,
In to the thre last monethis of this zeir,
From oure redimaris birth, to knaw it heir,
Ane thousandth fyve hundredth threscore aucht.
Off this purpois namair it neiddis be taucht:
Swa, till conclude, God grant us all gude end,
And eftir deth eternall lyfe us send.

This transcript, completed in the space of three months, extends to more than seven hundred pages in folio.

Bannatyne's MS. appears to have been presented by one Foulis to the Hon. William Carmichael; and afterwards to have been associated with two others in the same volume. That volume the Earl of Hyndford presented to the Advocates Library in the year 1773. Bannatyne's collection was in the possession of the Foulis family about half a century after it had been completed: at the hundred and eleventh page occurs the inscription of "Jacobus Foulis 1623."

One of the most persevering and most unsuccessful versifiers of this period was Robert Semple; whom a late writer, who amuses himself with perpetual conjectures, ridiculously supposes to have been a Scotish peer[m]. His different poems were published about the year 1570. If we may credit Dempster, he died in 1595. The eulogium which that writer has bestowed on Semple's genius is highly extravagant, and must have been conceived without any previous acquaintance with his writings: he represents him as exhibiting the combined excellencies of Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and Callimachus[n]. Some pieces by

[m] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 397.

[n] Dempster's panegyric is too remarkable to be omitted: "Semple claro nomine poeta, cui patrius sermo tantum debet, ut nulli plus debere eruditi fateantur: felix in eo calor, temperatum judicium, rara inventio, dictio pura ac candida; quibus dotibus Regi Jacobo charissimus fuit. Scripsit---carmina amatoria, ut Propertii sanguinem, Tibulli lac, Ovidii mel, Callimachi sudorem æquasse plerisque doctis videatur."

Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 601.

this poetaster are to be found in *The Ever-Green;* and Mr Dalyell has lately republished others from the original editions°. They are equally indecent and unpoetical. The following epitaph on the Earl of Murray is selected as a specimen of the composition of a writer whom Dempster has not scrupled to rank with the greatest of our poets:

Heir lyis the corps (gude pepill) of a prince,
Quhais saule in heuin is glorifeit:
James Regent was murdreitt without offence,
Be ane false tratour, sa knawin and notifeit,
Quha wes anis bound to haif bene justifeit.
He gaif him grace, allace, aganis all ressoun.
O Hammiltoun, it schawis weill thou wes feit
Be all that clan for to commit this tressoun.

Quhat mouit thé to do this insolence,
And mak that clan sa to be falsifeit,
To quhoem, God knawis, he schew his greit clemence,
Thocht thou with tressoun hes him gratifeit?
With all gude vertewis he wes amplifeit;
With all foul vice thou hes defylde thair maisoun.
Resetting thé, now haif thay varefeit
That thay bene weill contentit of this trasoun.

Indeid, I grant that his greit patience
Aganis him self this deid hes testifeit;
For had he put zou doun with diligence,
Zour tressoun had not this bene ratifeit.

° Dalyell's Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century. Edinb. 1801, 2 vols. 12mo.

Ze wer anis all in his will signifeit
At the Langsyde, sensyne in euerie sessoun.
Now with greit honour is he magnifeit,
And with greit schame ze sall thoil for this tressoun.

This epitaph is the production of a man who, according to Mr Sibbald, " continued to profess the Catholic religion." If Robert Lord Semple was a Papist, he cannot very rationally be considered as the author of the poems which we are now reviewing. The question however is of little moment; and may properly be left to those who are fond of antiquarian trifles.

Non equidem hoc studeo, bullatis ut mihi nugis
Pagina turgescat, dare pondus idonea fumo.
PERSIUS.

His *Legend of the Bischop of St Androis Lyfe* is a most gross and illiberal attack upon the character of Dr Patrick Adamson; a prelate of ingenuity and of erudition who has often been scandalously traduced. Instead of transcribing from the disgusting pages of Semple, I shall subjoin a specimen of the Latin poetry of the accomplished Adamson. The following is an affecting address to his departing soul; an address as much superior to that of Adrian, as Christianity is superior to Paganism:

O anima! assiduis vitæ jactata procellis,
Exilii pertæsa gravis, nunc lubrica tempus

Regna tibi, et mundi invisas contemnere sordes:
Quippe parens rerum cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, et verbi crucifixi gratia cœli
Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine sistet.
Progenies Jovæ, quò te cœlestis origo
Invitat, fœlix perge, æternumque quiesce.
Exuviæ carnis cognato in pulvere vocem
Angelicam expectent, sonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, et totum me tibi reddet.
Ecce beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, et radiantes sanguine vivo
Excipiet: quàm firma illic, quàm certa capesses
Gaudia, fœlices inter novus incola cives!
Alme Deus! Deus alme! et non effabile numen!
Ad te unum et trinum moribundo pectore anhelo [p].

Two poets of the name of Stewart are mentioned by Sir David Lindsay. Under that signature several pieces occur in the collections of Lord Hailes, Allan Ramsay, and Mr Sibbald. Galbreith and Kinloch, two poets mentioned by the same writer, are only known by name. Poems by Fethy, Fleming, and John Blyth, occur in Lord Hailes's collection. The names of Norval and Allan Watson also appear in Bannatyne's MS. A dull poem, entitled *The Lamentatioun of Lady Scotland*, was published at St Andrews in the year 1572; and many others of a similar denomination were produced about the same period.

[p] Adamsoni Poemata Sacra, sig. V. 3. b. Lond. 1619. 4to

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR RICHARD MAITLAND.

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SIR RICHARD MAITLAND.

SIR Richard Maitland is entitled to the remembrance of posterity, both as a cultivator and as a preserver of Scotish poetry.

He was the son of William Maitland of Lethington, and of Martha the daughter of George Lord Seaton. He was born in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-six. Having finished his course of literature and philosophy in the University of St Andrews, he visited France in order to prosecute the study of the laws[a]. After his return to Scotland, he is said to have recommended himself to the favour of James the

[a] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 207

Fifth. In the year 1554 we find him denominated an Extraordinary Lord of Session.

Sir John Scot affirms that he was appointed Lord Privy Seal during the regency of Mary of Guise[b]: and from his own congratulatory poem on her daughter's arrival in Scotland, it would appear that he had at least borne some office:

Madame, I wes trew servand to thy mother;
And in hir favour stud ay thankfullie
Of my estait alls weil as ony other:
Prayand thy Grace I may resavit be
In siclyk favour with thy Majestie,
Inclynand ay to me thy gracious eiris;
And, amang other servands, think on me.—
This last request I lernit at the freiris.

Scot's statement is not however corroborated by the authority of any other writer.

As early at least as 1561 Maitland was deprived of his sight: for in his poem addrest to Queen Mary on her arrival, an event which happened during that year, he thus speaks of his situation:

And thoch that I to serve be nocht sa abil
As I wes wont, becaus I may not see,
Yet in my hairt I sall be ferme and stabil.

His misfortune did not however incapacitate him for business. In 1561 he was admitted an Ordinary

b Scot's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen, p. 108.

Lord of Session by the title of Lethington, and in 1562 was also nominated Lord Privy Seal, and a member of the privy council. His office as keeper of the seal he resigned in 1567 in favour of his second son. In 1583 the Lords of Session had "granted him immunity and licence to attend when he pleased, having all commodities as if he were present: yet moved in conscience, lest justice should be retarded by his absence," he in the following year resigned in favour of Sir Lewis Ballenden[c]. This, says Dr Mackenzie, is the earliest instance of a lord's being permitted to resign in favour of another. Sir Richard died on the twentieth of March, 1586, at the age of ninety. His wife died on the day of his interment[d].

By this lady, Mary the daughter of Thomas Cranston of Corsby, he had a numerous offspring. An unpublished poem mentions his seven sons: but only three of these seem to have reached the age of maturity, or at least to have rendered themselves in any degree conspicuous. The eldest was Sir William, the famous secretary of Queen Mary; a man distinguished for the possession of uncommon talents. Buchanan has keenly exposed his character under the emblem of a cameleon, "a certane kynd of beist engenderit in sic countreis as the sone hes mair strenth

[c] Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, notes, p. 5.

[d] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 350. 353.

in than in this yle of Brettane; the quhilk albeit it be small of corporance, noghttheless it is of ane strange nature, the quhilk makis it to be na less celebrat and spoken of than sum beastis of greittar quantitie[e]." His wavering politics at length procured his ruin: he swallowed a copious doze of poison in order to disappoint the meditated vengeance of the Earl of Morton[f]. His brother Sir John, afterwards Lord Thirlstane, and chancellor of the kingdom, was a man of an amiable character, and possest of eminent endowments He is the author of a satire *Aganis Sklanderous Toungis* published in Mr Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*, and of several epigrams published in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Thomas Maitland, a younger son of Sir Richard's, is less remembered on account of his Latin poems[g], than as one of the interlocutors in the exquisite dialogue of Buchanan *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

His daughters were, Helen, married to John Cockburn of Clerkington, Margaret, to James Heriot of Trabroun, Mary, to Alexander Lauder of Hatton, and Isabel, to William Douglas of Whittingham. They all had issue[h]. Mary was

[e] Buchanani Opera, vol. i. edit. Ruddiman.

[f] Melvil's Memoires, p. 122.
Crawford's Memoirs of Scotland, p. 304.

[g] Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii.

[h] Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 267.

the partner of his studies, and herself a writer of verses.

Sir Richard Maitland is celebrated as a man of learning, talents, and virtue. His compositions breathe the genuine spirit of piety and benevolence. The chearfulness of his natural disposition, and his affiance in divine aid, seem to have supported him with singular equanimity under the pressure of blindness and old age. Knox has charged him with consenting, for the sake of a bribe, to the escape of Cardinal Beaton, who for some time had been confined at Seaton[1]. But the accusation appears to be without foundation: for we learn from Sir Ralph Sadler's letters that the cardinal was released by order of Arran the regent; who afterwards charged Lord Seaton with having liberated him from considerations of venality.

Cotemporary poets have extolled Maitland as a man adorned by every virtue. The following sonnet on his death was composed by Thomas Hudson:

The slyding tyme so slilie slips away,
It reaves from us remembrance of our state;
And quhill we do the cair of tyme delay,
We tyne the tyde, and so lament tó late.
Then, to eschew such dangerous debait,
Propone for patrene manlie Maitland knycht:
Leirne be his lyf to leive in sembil raite,

[1] Knox's Historie of the Reformatioun, p. 37.

With luif to God, religion, law, and rycht.
For as he was of vertu lucent lycht,
Of ancient bluid, of nobil spreit and name,
Belov'd of God and everie gracious wycht,
So died he auld, deserving worthie fame;
A rair exempil set for us to sie
Quhat we have bene, now ar, and aucht to be.

His poem *On the Creation and Paradyce Lost* was printed in Allan Ramsay's *Ever-Green*. A considerable number of his productions are to be found in the valuable collection of Mr Pinkerton[1]; and many more remain unpublished. A MS. containing *The Selected Poemes of Sr. Richard Maitlan* was presented by Drummond to the University of Edinburgh: but it seems merely to consist of gleanings from the two volumes deposited in the library of Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Two of his unpublished works, namely a genealogical history of the family of Seaton, and decisions of the Court of Session from 1550 till 1565, are still preserved in the Advocates Library.

[1] Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print; but now published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Senator of the College of Justice: comprising pieces written from about 1420 till 1586: with Glossarial Notes and a Glossary. Prefixed are An Essay on the Origin of Scottish Poetry, A List of all the Scottish Poets, with brief Remarks; and an Appendix is added, containing, among other articles, an account of the contents of the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS. Lond. 1786, 2 vols. 8vo.

Of the former of these works Dr Mackenzie has exhibited an inaccurate abridgement. The first sentence contains an erroneous statement. "Our author observes," says he, "that there was *no* surname in Scotland before Malcolm Kenmore's time[k]." But in reality he observes that "it is to be notted and known to every man, that there were *few* surnames in Scotland" before the period specified[l]. The copy which Mackenzie received from the Earl of Winton might however differ from that in the Advocates Library. This work is inscribed to George Lord Seaton, the fifth of that name; and the dedication presents Maitland in a very amiable light.

MAITLAND seems to have commenced his poetical career at a period of life when that of other writers has more generally closed. It is supposed that before he began to cultivate poetry he had nearly attained the sixtieth year of his age[m]. In his

[k] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 208.

[l] The Historicall Genealogie of the Ancient and Noble House of Seton, written by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtop, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, in the year 1545; enlarged by Alexander Viscount of Kingston, in the year 1687; MS.

[m] Menage wrote his *Anti-Baillet* at the age of about seventy-eight and yet that work, as a very competent judge has remarked, "est plein d'un bout à l'autre d'une littérature exquise." Theophrastus com-

works it would therefore be improper to expect the effervescence of a youthful imagination, or the perpetual scintillations of a lively fancy. They are not however incapable of exciting interest; they present us with the thoughts serious and gay, of an amiable old man habituated to courts, and accurately acquainted with men and manners.

His stanzas entitled *Na Kyndnes at Court without Siller* shall be selected as a specimen of his poetical taste:

Sumtyme to court I did repair,
Thairin sum errands for to dres,
Thinkand I had sum freindis thair
To help fordwart my beseynes.
Bot, not the les,
I fand nathing bot doubilnes.
Auld kynnes helpis not ane hair.

To ane grit court-man I did speir,
That I trowit my friend had bene;
Becaus we war of kyn sa neir,
To him my mater I did mene.
Bot with disdene
He fled as I had done him tene,
And wald not byd my teill to heir.

posed the most curious of his works after he had reached the venerable age of ninety-nine. The common reading of the passage in which he represents himself as having completed that number of years, is sanctioned by all the manuscripts which were inspected by the best of his commentators. (Casaubon. *Ad Theophrasti Characteres Commentarius*, p. 96.)

I wend that he in word and deid
For me his kynsman sould have wrocht.
Bot to my speche he tuke na heid;
Neirnes of blude he sett at nocht.
Than weill I thocht,
Quhan I for sibnes to him socht,
It wes the wrang way that I yeid.

My hand I put into my sleif,
And furthe of it ane purs I drew;
And said I brocht it him to geif:
Baith gold and silver I him schew.
Than he did rew
That he unkindlie me misknew;—
And hint the purs fest in his neif.

Fra tyme he gat the purs in hand,
He kyndlie *cousin* callit me,
And baid me gar him understand
My beseynes all haillalie;
And swair that he
My trew and faythfull freind suld be
In courte as I ples him comand.

For quhilk better it is, I trow,
Into the court to get supplé,
To have ane purs of fyne gold fow,
Nor to the hiast of degré
Of kyn to be.
Sa alters our nobilitie,
Grit kynrent helpis lytil now.

Thairfoir, my freinds, gif ye will mak
All courte-men youris as we wald,
Gude gold and silver with yow tak;
Than to tak help ye may be bald;
For it is tauld,
"Kyndnes of courte is coft and sald:"
Neirnes of kyn na thing thai rak.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER SCOT.

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FOR the memoirs of the life of Alexander Scot, the only materials which I have been able to discover are a few detached and unsatisfactory hints scattered through his ingenious compositions.

He flourished about the year 1560. If he be the poet specified in the following passage of a sonnet of Montgomery addrest to Robert Hudson, we may conclude that his life was prolonged beyond the ordinary term, and that it was somewhat unfortunate:

> Ye knaw ill guyding genders mony gees,
> And specially in poets: for example
> Ye can pen out twa cuple and ye pleis,
> Yourself and I, *auld Scot* and Robert Semple.

Quhen we ar deid, that all our dayis daſhis,
Let Christan Lyndesay wryt our epitaphis.

It appears from his works that he was a layman, and a rational friend to the Reformation. The place of his residence, as we may conjecture from his *Justing*, was probably Dalkeith. One of his odes refers to his wife.

Such are the scanty notices which compose what for the sake of uniformity I have entitled "The Life of Alexander Scot."

A considerable number of his poems may be found in the collections of Lord Hailes, Allan Ramsay, and Mr Sibbald. Bannatyne's MS. contains others which have never been printed.

The productions of Scot may be classed among the most elegant Scotish poems of the sixteenth century. They are generally founded on subjects of an amatory kind; and discover a considerable degree of fancy and harmony. His lyric measures are chosen with sufficient skill: and his language, when compared with that of cotemporary poets, will be found to possess an uncommon share of terseness and precision.

He professes to have studied the female character; and the result of his enquiries is not very flattering to the vanity of the sex. In his poem *Of Wemenkynd* the following significant stanzas occur:

I muse and mervellis in my mynd,
  Quhat way to wryt or put in vers
The quent consaitis of wemenkynd,
  Or half thair havingis to rehers:
I fynd thair haill affectioun
So contrair thair complexioun.

For quhy? no leid unleill thay leit,
  Untrewth expressly thay expell;
Yit thay ar planeist and repleit
  O^{e} falset and dissait thair sell:
So find I thair affectioun
Contrair thair awin complexioun.

Thay favour no wayis fuliche men,
  And verry few of thame ar wyiss;
All gredy personis thay misken,
  And thay ar full of covettyiss:
So find I thair affectioun
Contrair thair awin complexioun.

His unfavourable opinion of the sex in general does not however seem to have prevented him from placing his affections on some fair individual. His verses *In Prais of the twa fair Een of his Mistress* may be produced as a specimen of his talents for amatory poetry:

Thow well of vertew, floure of womanheid,
  And patrone unto patiens,
Lady of lawty, baith in word and deid,
  Rycht sobir, sweit, full meik of eloquens,
  Baith gude and fair; to your magnificens

I me commend, as I haif done befoir,
My sempill heart for now and evirmoir.

For evirmoir I sall you service mak :
Sen of befoir into my mynd I made,
Sen first I knew ladyschip, bot lak,
Bewtie, youth of womanheid ye had,
Withouten rest my hart couth nocht evade.
Thus am I youtis, and ay sensyne haif bene
Commandit by your gudly twa fair ene.

Your twa fair ene makis me oft syis to sing,
Your twa fair ene makis me to sych also,
Your twa fair ene makis me grit comforting,
Your twa fair ene is wyt of all my wo,
Your twa fair ene may no man keip 'him' fro,
Withouttin rest that gets a sicht of thame :
Thus of all vertew weir ye now the name.

Ye beir the name of gentilness of blude,
Ye beir the name, that mony for ye deis,
Ye beir the name, ye are baith fair and gude,
Ye beir the name that farrer than yow seis,
Ye beir the name, fortune and you agreis,
Ye beir the name of lands of lenth and breid,
The well of vertew, floure of womanheid.

This little poem is marked by a peculiarity to which the reader must have adverted; every stanza commences with a repetition of some of the concluding words of that by which it is preceded.

The following *Rondel of Luve* is not devoid of what may properly be termed prettiness:

Lo! quhat it is to lufe
Lerne ye that list to prufe,
Be me, I say, that no ways may
The grund of greif remuve,
Bot still decay, both nycht and day:
Lo quhat it is to lufe!

Lufe is ane fervent fyre,
Kendillit without desyre;
Schort plesour, lang displesour,
Repentance is the hyre;
Ane pure tressour without messour:
Lufe is ane fervent fyre.

To lufe and to be wyiss,
To rege with gud advyiss;
Now thus, now than, so gois the game,
Incertaine is the dyiss:
Thair is no man, I say, that can
Both lufe and to be wyiss.

Flé alwayis frome the snair;
Lerne at me to beware:
It is ane pane and dowbill trane
Of endless wo and cair;
For to refrane that denger plane,
Flé alwayis frome the snair.

The address *To his Heart* is remarkably smooth and elegant:

Returne thé hamewart, hairt, agane,
And byde quhair thou was wont to be:
Thow art ane fule to suffer pane
For luve of hir that luvis not thé

My hairt, lat be sic fantesie:
Luve nane bot as thay mak thé cause;
And lat her seik ane hairt for thé;
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.

To quhat effect sould thou be thrall
But thank, sen thou hes thy fre will?
My hairt, be nocht sa bestiall,
But knaw quha dois thé guid or ill:
Remane with me and tarry still,
And se quha playis best their pawis,
And lat fillok ga fling her fill;
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.

Thocht scho be fair, I will not fenyie,
Scho is the kind of utheris ma:
For quhy? thair is a fellone menyie
That semis gud and ar not sa.
My hairt, tak nowdir pain nor wa
For Meg, for Merjory, or yit Mawis,
Bot be thou glaid, and latt hir ga;
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.

Becaus I find scho tuk in ill,
At her departing thow mak na cair;
Bot all beguyld go quhair scho will,
A schrew the hairt that mane makis mair.
My hairt be mirry lait and air;
This is the fynall end and clause;
And let her fallow ane filly fair;
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.

The longest of Scot's productions is *Ane New Yere Gyft to the Quene, quhe[n] scho come first hame;* which is less valuable for its poetry, than for the

light that it reflects on an important æra of our national history.

His *Justing betwixt William Adamson and Johne Syme* is an imitation of *Christis Kirk of the Grene;* and although inferior to the admirable original, it is distinguished by many happy strokes of humorous description. Instead of attempting to select particular specimens of the poet's humour, I shall content myself with transcribing the initial stanzas:

The grit debate and turnament,
Of treuth no toung can tell,
Was for a lusty lady gent,
Betwix twa freikis fell,
(For Mars the god armipotent
Was not sa ferss himsell,
Nor Hercules, that aiks uprent,
And dang the devil of hell)
Up at the Drum that day.

Doutles, was not so duchty deidis
Amangis the Dowsy Peiris;
Nor yet no clerk in story reidis
Of sa triumphand weiris;
To se so stoutly on thair steidis
Tha stalwart knychtis steiris,
Quhyle bellyes bair for brodding bleidis
With spurs as scherp as breiris,
And kene up at the Drum that day.

Up at the Drum the day was set,
And fixit was the feild,
Quhair baith thir noble chiftains met
Enarmit under schield:

They wer sae hasty and sae het,
That nane of them wad yeild,
But to debait or be doun bet,
And in the quarrell keild,
Or slane up at the Drum that day.

There was ane better and ane worss,
I wald that it wer wittin;
For William wichtar wes of corss
Nor Sym, and bettir knittin.
Sym said, He set nocht by his forss,
But hecht he suld be hittin,
And he micht counter Will on horss;
For Sym was better sittin
Nor Will up at the Drum that day.

Several of the Scotish poets have exercised their satirical powers on subjects of this kind. Scot's *Justing* is undoubtedly superior to the similar attempts of Dunbar and Lindsay.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT.

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No apology need be offered for an attempt to illustrate the personal and literary character of a man who has obtained so distinguished a place in the ecclesiastical annals of his native country, and whose name Dr Campbell has thought worthy of admission into the great repository of British biography. As a Scotish poet Arbuthnot is hitherto but little known; and the success of the present effort to extend his celebrity must be left to the impartial decision of time.

Alexander Arbuthnot was born in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight. He descended from a respectable family, which was afterwards ennobled by Charles the First. His father was the baron or laird of Arbuthnot

in the county of Kincardine: and it may be conjectured that he himself was a younger brother.

According to Archbishop Spotswood, he studied in the University of St Andrews [a]: but Dr Mackenzie, whose authority is seldom entitled to much regard, has transferred him to Aberdeen [b]. He visited France in 1561; and for the space of five years prosecuted the study of the laws under the celebrated Cujacius [c]. Having taken the degree of licentiate, he returned to Scotland with the view of following the profession of an advocate. This plan he however relinquished, and afterwards directed his attention to the study of theology. Having received ordination, he was presented to the living of Arbuthnot and Logie-Buchan [d].

The period at which he entered into the church was highly important. The Reformation had been placed on no unsolid basis: but many disputes with regard to doctrine and discipline

[a] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 335.

[b] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 186.

[c] Moreri informs us that Cujacius was successively professor at Toulouse, Cahors, Bourges, Valence, Turin, and again at Bourges (*Dictionnaire Historique*, tom. iii. p. 524); but he has neglected to specify the various periods of his removal from one university to another. I have also consulted the *Elogia* of Papirius Masso, but with no better success.

[d] T. Middleton's Appendix to Spotswood, p. 24.

were still agitated; and the contest between presbytery and episcopacy was proceeding towards its highest pitch of violence.

He appears to have sat in the general assembly constituted at Edinburgh on the first of July, 1568. It being reported that Thomas Bassenden, a printer in that city, had published a *bawdy song* at the end of the psalm-book, and that he had also published a treatise in which the king was denominated the head of the church, he was commanded by the assembly to expunge the offensive song, and to submit the other work to the inspection of Arbuthnot [c].

In the year 1569 the principal as well as some other members of King's College, Aberdeen, having been expelled by the ecclesiastical visiter, Arbuthnot was promoted to the vacant office. "By his diligent teaching and dexterous government," says Spotswood, "he not only revived the study of good letters, but gained many from the superstitions whereunto they were given."

In 1572 his *Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris* were published at Edinburgh in quarto. This production was honoured with an encomiastic poem by Thomas Maitland; who represents Arbuthnot as one of the brightest orna-

[c] Petrie's Hist. of the Catholick Church, cent. xvi. p. 359.

ments of his country. The concluding verses I shall transcribe:

Nec Cereris laudi, aut Bacchi tua gloria cedet,
Si modò jus potius frugibus atque mero est.
Quòd si fortè tibi sacra, Arbuthnæe, negantur,
Nomine nec niteant templa dicata tuo,
At celebris memori tua fama sacrabitur ævo,
Factaque posteritas grata stupenda canet.
Macte igitur juris cultor doctissime, perge,
Cœlicolum laudes æquiparare tuis[f].

To enhance the value of this eulogium, it must be recollected that Maitland was a zealous Catholic.

Of the general assembly constituted at Edinburgh on the sixth of August, 1573, Arbuthnot was chosen moderator [g]. In that of Edinburgh, March the sixth, 1574, he was nominated among the commissioners who were to summon before them the chapter of Murray, accused of presenting a testimonial in favour of George Douglas, bishop of that see, "without just trial and due examination of his life, and qualification in literature [h]." This assembly also authorized him, with Dr John Row and others, to draw up a plan of ecclesiastical polity for the future inspection of the members [i].

[f] Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 153.
[g] Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 63.
[h] Ibid. p. 64.
[i] Ibid. p. 65.

At Edinburgh on the first of April, 1577, he was again chosen moderator [j]. During the same year he was appointed, together with Andrew Melvin and George Hay, to attend a council which was expected to meet at Magdeburg for the purpose of establishing the Augsburg Confession [k]. The council however was not convened. About this period a copy of *The Book of Discipline* was presented to the Earl of Morton as regent of the kingdom: and, for the solution of doubts and the removal of difficulties, he was referred to Arbuthnot, Adamson, Melvin, and other nine commissioners of inferior eminence [l].

The general assembly having met at Edinburgh on the twenty-fourth of April, 1578, it was resolved that a copy of *The Book of Discipline* should be presented to the king, and another to his council; and that, if a conference should be demanded, they on their part would nominate Arbuthnot, Melvin, and other ten delegates, to attend at any appointed time [m]. In the assembly which convened at Stirling on the eleventh of June, Arbuthnot, together with Buchanan, Sir Peter Young, and others, was impowered to confer

j Calderwood, p. 76.

k Petrie's Hist. of the Catholick Church, cent. xvi. p. 392.

l Calderwood. p. 79.

m Petrie, p. 394.

with several of the nobility, prelates, and gentry, relative to the polity of the church [n].

These and other circumstances which might be adduced, tend to evince the respectability and importance of his character. His probity and moderation seem to have equalled his literary attainments: notwithstanding the violence of the times, he has never been found subjected to censure [o].

In the year 1583 he received a presentation to one of the churches of St Andrews; but the king commanded him to remain in his college under pain of *horning*. When the clergy complained of this arbitrary exertion of the royal prerogative, it was answered that his Majesty had issued the order with a view to promote the general interests of the church [p]. It is probable however that the real cause of the prohibition was an apprehension lest the removal of Arbuthnot to such a situation might tend to the advancement of the schemes which were then in agitation. Whatever might

[n] Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

[o] The Papists themselves seem to have revered his virtues. Nicol Burne, who in his *Admonition to the Antichristian Ministers of the Deformit Kirk of Scotland*, written in 1581, has treated the rest of the Protestant clergy with the utmost contempt, is unwilling to extenuate the merits of Arbuthnot.

> But yit, gude Lord, quha anis thy name hes kend,
> May, or thay de, find for thair saulis remeid:
> With thy elect Arbuthnot I commend,
> Althocht the lave to Geneve haist with speid.

[p] Petrie' Hist. of the Catholick Church, cent. xvi. p. 438. 441.

be his private sentiments with regard to ecclesiastical polity, he seems to have adhered with sufficient steadiness to the Presbyterian party: and his personal influence must at this crisis have rendered him an object of suspicion and displeasure to the pusillanimous monarch. Dr Mackenzie confidently asserts that he had become obnoxious by printing Buchanan's history of Scotland[q]: and other authors have also supposed that he was the identical Alexander Arbuthnot who held the office of king's printer[r]. It is remarked by Mr Ruddiman that this office was evidently inconsistent with his duty as principal of a college, situated at the distance of eighty miles from the press[s]. Mr Chalmers, by referring to the writ of privy seal which denominates the king's printer a burgess of Edinburgh, professes to have decisively established the fact that he was a different person from the celebrated principal[t]. This proof is not however so decisive as the writer seems to suppose: for, as Mr Sibbald has pertinently remarked, Gavin Douglas, though the son of a powerful nobleman, and himself a dignified ecclesiastic, was also a burgess of Edinburgh[u]. The

[q] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 192.

[r] Man's Censure of Ruddiman's Philological Notes on Buchanan p. 99. Aberdeen, 1753, 12mo.

[s] Ruddiman's Anticrisis, p. 26. Edinb. 1754, 8vo.

[t] Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, p. 72.

[u] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 336.

situation of a printer was not formerly regarded as incompatible with the dignity of the academic life: the celebrated Adrian Turnebus, while he held the office of king's printer, was also Professor of Greek in the University of Paris.

Arbuthnot was soon placed beyond the reach of kingly restraint. He died at Aberdeen on the tenth of October, 1583, before he had completed the age of forty-five. On the twentieth of the month his remains were interred in the College Church.

His cotemporary James Melvin represents him as "a man of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godliness, and sweetness of nature[v]:" and his character has thus been delineated by the impartial Land of Spotswood: "He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in such account for his moderation with the chief men of these parts, that without his advice they could almost do nothing: which put him in a great fashrie, whereof he did oft complain. Pleasant and jocund in conversation, and in all sciences expert; a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologue, lawyer, and in medicine skilful; so as in every subject he could promptly discourse, and to good purpose[w]".

[v] See extracts from Melvin's manuscript account of his own life, inserted in Mair's *Grammar of Ruddiman*, p. 99.—Melvin, perhaps with some degree of friendly partiality, has pronounced Arbuthnot one of the most learned men of whom Europe could at that time boast.

[w] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 335.

His death appears to have been regarded as a severe calamity to the national church, and to the national literature. The following elegy was composed by the celebrated Andrew Melvin, Principal of New College, St Andrews:

Flere mihi si fas privata incommoda, si fas
Publica, nec tua mi commoda flere nefas,
Flerem ego te, mihi te ereptum, pater Arbuthnete!
Et pater, et patriæ lux oculusque tuæ!
Flerem ego te, superis carum caput, Arbuthnete!
Et caput, et sacri corque animusque chori.
Flerem ego; nec flenti foret aut pudor, aut modus, eheu!
Flerem ego te, te eheu! flerem ego perpetuò,
Deliciæ humani generis, dulcissime rerum;
Quem Musæ et Charites blando aluere sinu;
Cujus in ore lepos, sapiens in pectore virtus,
Et Suadæ et Sophiæ vis bene juncta simul;
Cui pietas, cui prisca fides, constantia, candor,
Et pudor, et probitas, non habuere parem;
Sacras et Themidis, medicas et Pæonis artes,
Et potis immensi pandere jura poli;
Vis animi, vis ingenii, vis vivida mentis
Et terram, et pontum, et sidera perdomuit.
Talis erat hic ævum agitans: nunc æthere summo
Celsior, et summo non procul inde Deo,
Perfrueris vera in patria cœloque Deoque
Felix: hæc tua me commoda flere nefas[x].

With respect to ecclesiastical polity Arbuthnot and Melvin seem to have entertained very different sentiments: Melvin, it is well known,

[x] Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 120.

was a strenuous promoter of the Genevan system of equality; while Arbuthnot is said to have favoured the aristocratical jurisdiction of episcopacy[y].

Three poems have lately been published under the name of Alexander Arbuthnot; and various circumstances have induced me to ascribe them to the excellent man whose life I have now attempted to delineate. That he was a successful cultivator of poetry, is evident from the testimony of Archbishop Spotswood. The poems in question appear to have been written by a clergyman. They were written during the age of Principal Arbuthnot. They breathe the humane and liberal spirit which he is said to have possest.

One circumstance however seems to destroy this hypothesis. In the colophon of *The Miseries of a Pure Scolar*, that poem is said to have been composed in the year 1572: Alexander Arbuthnot was at that time Principal of King's College; and yet the author represents himself as languishing in a state of indigence. This difficulty will be removed if we suppose that some error has been committed in transcription. In Mr Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*, this colophon has perhaps been transferred from its proper place, in

[y] Spotswood, Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 44. Lond. 1620, 8vo.

order to be appended to the last of Arbuthnot's pieces that occurs in the series.

From the specimens which have been preserved, Arbuthnot may be pronounced an ingenious and pleasing poet. *The Praises of Wemen* is a gay production which must have recommended him in a very powerful manner to the favour of the softer sex. Of that sex he appears to have entertained a higher opinion than a late writer[z]: and in blazoning its merits he has displayed no inconsiderable portion of friendly zeal. The following stanzas are produced as a specimen of the composition:

The wysest thing of wit
That ever Nature wrocht:
Quha can fra purpose flit,
Bot fickilnes of thocht.
Wald ye now wis ane erthlie blis,
Solace gif ye have socht;
Ane marchandyce of gritest pryce
That ever ony bocht.

The brichtest thing, bot baill,
That ever creat bein;
The lustiest and [maist] leil;
The gayest and best gain;

z "A celebrated author who attained the utmost limits of ecclesiastical dignity, affirms, the Scotish women were amorous; and that kisses were less valued in Scotland than touching the hand in Italy. This might be true. Modesty is an acquired idea: and no female bears the burden of chastity, when an opportunity offers to lay it down!"

The thing fairest, and langest lest;
From all canker maist clein.
The trimmest face, with gullie grace,
That lichtlie may be sein.

The Miseries of a Pure Scolar, as Mr Pinkerton remarks, "is a most interesting poem, and does great honour to the heart and head of its author." One passage I shall quote, because it contains a contribution to literary history:

In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
When cairfull thochts with sorrow sailyes me;
Bot gif I mell with meter or with ryme,
With rascal rymours I sall rakint be:
Thay sal me bourdin als with mony lie,
In charging me with that qukilk never I ment.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament?

I wald travel; and ydlenes I hait;
Gif I culd find sum gude vocatioun:
Bot all for nocht: in vain lang may I wait,
Or I get honest occupatioun.
Letters are lichtliet in our natioun:
For lernyng now is nother lyf nor rent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament?

The Maitland MSS. preserved at Edinburgh and Cambridge, contain several poems of Arbuthnot which have not hitherto been published.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEX. MONTGOMERY.

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ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY.

THAT paucity of materials which we have so frequently had occasion to regret, again awaits us at this step of our progress. Of the life and character of Alexander Montgomery, a poet who has obtained his share of celebrity, no authentic memorials have been transmitted to our times: and all that remains for his nominal biographer is fruitless research or unsatisfactory conjecture.

If conjecture may be trusted, he was related to the noble family of Eglintoun. His name however does not occur in the peerage of Douglas or of Crawford: and the prevalent opinion has probably originated from Dempster's asserting that Montgomery was of noble extraction.

From his poem entitled *The Navigatioun* it appears that he was born in Germany:

As for my self, I am ane German borne,
Quha ay this fasion whilk ye se hes worne,
Quhilk lenth of tym culd nevir caus me change,
Thoght I haiv bene in money cuntrey strange,
Thrugh all Europe, Afrik, and Asia,
And throu the neu-fund-out America:
All thair conditiouns I do understand,
Baith of the peple, and also of the land[a].

The title-page of his works informs us that he was a captain; but of what denomination, is not apparent. It seems however probable that he followed the profession of a soldier.

According to Dempster, he was commonly known by the name of *Eques Montanus*, or the Highland Knight: but there is no evidence of his being legally entitled to such an appellation. Polwart mentions him as having resided in Argyle. The author of *A Facetious Poem* seems to represent him as an inhabitant of the district of Badenyon[b]. John Wilson, the author of *Clyde*, a descriptive poem, has hinted that Montgomery occasionally resided at Finlayston in the county of Renfrew:

But Finlayston demands the choicest lays;
A generous Muse's theme in former days,

[a] Montgomery's Poems, p. 105. MS.

[b] A Facetious Poem in imitation of the Cherry and Slae, giving account of the entertainment Love and Despair got in the Highlands of Scotland; revealed in a dream to one in pursuit of his stolen cows. By G. G. of S. Edinb. 1701, 12mo.

When soft MONTGOMERY poured the rural lay:
Whether he sung the vermeil dawn of day,
Or in the mystic wreath, to soothe his woe,
Twin'd the red *cherry* with the sable *sloe*,
Each charming sound resistless love inspir'd,
Soft love resistless every bosom fir'd;
Of love the waters murmur'd in their fall,
And Echo sounds of love return'd to all;
Trembling with love, the beauteous scene imprest
Its amorous image on the firth's fair breast;
The scene ennobled by the lofty dome
Where great Glencairn has fix'd his splendid home;
Whose breast the firm integrity inspires,
And scorn of slavery, that adorn'd his sires.

With the writer's sources of information, as well as the poem of which Finlayston is thus mentioned as the theme, I am totally unacquainted.

It appears from his own productions that his poetical talents procured him the patronage of his sovereign James the Sixth: and Dempster has indeed informed us that he stood high in the favour of that learned monarch[c]. Of the royal bounty he however seems to have sustained at least a temporary deprivation; his poems insinuate that a pension which he had enjoyed was withheld at the secret instigation of his enemies. He also complains of his being involved in a tedious process before the Court of Session, and harassed with misfortunes of every denomination. One of his poems is entitled "The Poet's Com-

[c] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 496.

plante aganst the Unkindness of his Companions when he wes in Prisone:" and in the following sonnet he pathetically bewails his accumulated misery:

If lose of guids, if gritest grudge or grief,
If povertie, imprisonment, or pane,
If for guid-will ingratitude agane,
If languishing in langour, but releif,
If det, if dolour, and to become deif,
If travell tint, and labour lost in vane,
Do properlie to poets appertane,
Of all that craft my chance is to be chief.
With August Virgill waunted his reward,
And Ovid's lote als lukles as the lave;
Quhill Homer liv'd, his hap wes wery hard,
Yit, when he died, sevin cities for him strave.
Thoght I am not lyk one of thame in arte,
I pingle thame [ ] perfytlie in that parte[d].

In one of his sonnets addrest to Robert Hudson, we meet with a passage which also contains biographical hints:

This is no lyfe that I leid up-a-land,
On raw rid herring reistit in the reik:
Syn I am subject som tyme to be seik,
And daylie deing of my auld diseis:
Ait bread, ill aill, and all things ar ane eik;
This barme and blaidry buists up all my bees.

[d] Montgomory's Poems, sonn. xv. MS.

On the friendship of Hudson he seems to have relied with a confidence of which he afterwards found reason to repent. Christian Lindsay thus upbraids Hudson with his treachery:

Oft have I hard, but efter fund it trew,
That courteours kyndnes lasts bot for a quhyle:
Fra once your turnes be sped, quhy then adew!
Your promeist freindship passis in exyle.
Bot, Robene, faith ye did me not beguyle:
I hopit ay of you as of the lave.
If thow had wit, thow wald haif mony a wyle
To mak thy self be knawin for a knaive.
Montgomrie, that sik hope did once conceave
Of thy guid-will, now finds all is forgottin:
Thocht nocht but kindness he did at thé craive,
He finds thy friendship, as it rypis, is rotten.
The smeikie smeiths cairs not his passit travel,
Bot leivis him lingring deing of the graveir[e].

Many of the poems of Montgomery are written in a querulous strain: but he always speaks like a man conscious of rectitude; and the recollection of his own virtues, together with the exercise of his poetical talents, seems to have been his principal source of consolation under all the calamities to which he was exposed.

The dates of his compositions cannot be ascertained. *The Flyting betwixt Montgomrie and Polwart* must have been written in or before the year 1584; for a passage of it is quoted by King

[e] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 104.

James in his *Revlis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie*, a work which made its appearance in the course of that year. In 1595 he published his well-known poem *The Cherie and the Slae*. It was reprinted in 1597, by Robert Waldegrave, "according to a copie corrected be the author himselfe." Of the edition printed by Andrew Hart in 1615, the title page informs us that the author had revised his work a short while before his death. He appears therefore to have died between 1597 and 1615. By referring his death to the year 1591, Dempster has fallen into one of his innumerable errors.

Many of his compositions are to be found in the collections of Pinkerton, Ramsay, Watson, and Sibbald. *The Flyting* was printed at Glasgow, in octavo, in the year 1665. Editions of his poetical works were published at Glasgow, by Foulis in 1751, and by Urie in 1754: but these, though sufficiently elegant, are incomplete and unfaithful.

Among the books presented by Drummond to the University of Edinburgh, is a manuscript collection of the poems of Montgomery, consisting of odes, sonnets, psalms, and epitaphs. Of these no very considerable number has hitherto met the public eye. Some specimens however occur in Mr Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*. The MS. extends to one hundred and fifty-eight pages in quarto, and has been preserved

with some degree of care: but by reducing it to the dimensions of the printed tracts together with which it forms a volume, the bookbinder has unfortunately shorn away several words and syllables.

Montgomery was probably acquainted with the writings of the Italian poets: he has left many sonnets constructed on the Italian model; and his general taste in composition may perhaps be regarded as exotic. His productions undoubtedly discover a considerable degree of fancy; but his fancy is not always sufficiently regulated by the principles of a correct taste.

His fame chiefly rests on the merits of *The Cherrie and the Slae*; a poem which, as it still continues to be redd, must certainly be found possest of genuine beauty. A very acute writer who occasionally suffers caprice to usurp the place of judgment, has however censured it in the following terms: "It is a very poor production; and yet, I know not how, it has been frequently printed, while far superior works have been neglected. The stanza is good for a song; but the worst in the world for a long poem. The allegory is weak and wire-drawn; and the whole piece beneath contempt. Let it then sleep[1]." To sleep it does not however seem to have been

[1] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. cxviii.

destined. A work which has maintained its popularity for the space of two hundred years, cannot with much apparent modesty or justice be pronounced contemptible. Popularity is for the most part a safe criterion of literary excellence: the power of diffusing general delight can only reside in a writer of superior endowments.

Lord Hailes has represented Montgomery as a man of genius[8]: and another of our writers has characterized *The Cherrie and the Slae* as an allegorical poem of no ordinary ingenuity. His warmest admirers must however admit that the allegory is too dark to be readily comprehended. According to one critic, "the object of the poem is to represent the wishes, hopes, reasonings, and attempts of a lover, the mistress of whose passion was, by her rank and her personal excellencies, exalted greatly above his condition:" but, according to another, "the allegory of this poem is, that moderate pleasures are better than high ones." Both these interpretations cannot be accurate, but they may both be erroneous. The genuine explication of the allegory perhaps is, that the paths of virtue, though of the most difficult access, ought to be strenuously preferred to those of vice, however smooth and inviting the latter may at first appear. The poet perceives the cherry growing upon a tall tree, and that

[8] Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 239.

tree rising from a formidable precipice: but the sloe, a fruit of an inferior species, is seen depending from a less dangerous height, and seems to invite his irresolute hand.

This interpretation is apparently consonant to the tenor of the poem; and in support of it, many detached passages might here be adduced. It will be sufficient to quote a part of the concluding stanza:

Praise be to God my Lord thairfoir,
Quha did myne helth to me restoir,
Being sae lang tyme pynd;
And blessed be his haly name,
Quha did frae deith to lyfe reclaim
Me quha was sae unkynd.

Of Montgomery's poem a Latin paraphrase was published by a writer, who, instead of his name, presents us with the following chain of initials: T.D.S.P.M.B.P.P. This paraphrast was probably no other than the celebrated Thomas Dempster. By these initials we are therefore to understand, Thomas Dempsterus, Scotiæ Patricius, Muresk Baro, Professor Parisiensis, or Professor Pisanus, or Pandectarum Professor. Of the poetry of Montgomery he was a profest admirer; and has pronounced him the Scotish Pindar, and a writer inferior to none of the ancients in elegance of taste or beauty of composition.

Dempster's explanation of the allegory corresponds to that which has already been submitted to the reader. He has entitled his work, "opus poematicum de virtutum et vitiorum pugna; sive electio statûs in adolescentia." His prologue, which I shall here transcribe at length, may serve as a comment on Montgomery.

Florens Juventus sæculi splendoribus
Illecta, sensus occupat rebus leves
Inanibus; florum venustis lumina
Coloribus pascens, volucrum cantibus
Infatuat aures; et virenti permanens
Nemore, secus fluenta limpida excubans.
Casus futuros nescia, in prosperis
Elata mens adversitatem negligit.
Cùm fortè blandus advolat prædam ratus
Cupido, pictas in propinquo cacumine
Deponit alas, ad volandum provocat.
Commota mox est fervida Adolescentia
Pennis et arcu Amoris armata avolat,
Sed dum repente ludicris telis agit
Prædas, Cupidini fit heu præda ipsa amet.
Vexat cruentum marte proprio pessimus
Juvenem Cupido, vulneratum, saucium:
Deficit, o proh dolor! tristi et languoribus:
Pennis et armis spoliat, et miserrimum
Linquens, per astra tonitruans abit statim.
Illa at cruentas, invenens procul deum,
Frustra fatigans capiti et acies luminum.
Dirus Cupidinem dicat tandem omnibus.
Nunc ejulatu gemitibus cum ambagibus
Lenire conatur; sed intimus dolor
Magis magisque crescit atque exuberat.
Amoris hæc solum inest armis capit.

Inter dolores ac labores fortiter
Vexatus, oppressus siti, et febricitans,
Petræ appropinquat fluminique ut frigidas
Captet per umbras sobrium solatium.
Cùm fortè supra caput, in altitudine
Saxi, videt cerasum pulchre mitissimis
Fructibus onustam, quos siti putat suæ
Aptissimos, morboque sanando fore.
Modum tamen viamque carpendi videt
Nusquam; sed in viciniori conspicit
Spina nigrantia pruna plurima. Ambigit
Durumne carpens iter, in arduo sitam
Sequè juvet virtutem, et hanc (cerasus notat)
Stat anxius, vel in patente sæculo
(Quod spinus exprimit) frui solatiis
Modico quitem tempore afferentibus,
In finc luctibus dolisque tristibus
Pleno, miserrimam ferentibus necem.
Prunum jubet Metus, Periculum quoque ut
Carpat; jubetque idem ipsa Desperatio.
Spes et Voluntas, altera cum Audacia
Pro parte disputant, volunt quoque cerasum.
Contentiosis atterunt tempus diu,
Verbisque multis expeditum fit nihil.
In fine tandem litis, accedunt graves
Sapientia, Experientia, et prudens Dea,
Peritia ac Ratio simul rebus modum
Ponunt. Voluntas exulat, suspenditur
Laqueo suo maligna Desperatio.
Cætera cohors concordibus votis petunt
Cerasa, levamen ægro, et optatam parant
Prompte medelam; pariter et Prudentia

Præit, Peritia et Ratio monstrant viam.
Juventa desideria sic explet pia:
Dicit vale mundo, suisque noxiis
Curis, adhærens regiæ pacis viæ,
Quæ ducit in vitam ac beatitudinem [h].

This explanation of the allegory, it must be acknowledged, cannot easily be reconciled with that which Dempster has proposed in one of his avowed productions[i]. But as authors are not under the necessity of retaining every opinion which they have once adopted, we may persist, notwithstanding this inconsistency, in regarding him as the paraphrast of Montgomery's poem.

The amatory effusions of Montgomery are not deficient in fancy and elegance; but they often display attempts at luminous beauty which deviate into affectation and bombast. He thus celebrates the perfections of Lady Margaret Montgomery:

The goddes Diana, in hir hevinlie throne,
Evin at the full of all hir majestie,
Quhen she belev't that danger was thair none,
Bot in her sphere ascending up maist hie,

h Cerasum et Sylvestre Prunum, &c. edit: Edinb. 1696, 12mo.

i "Cerasus et Vaccinium, poema divinum quo amores suos descripserat; per cerasum, amicæ sublimis dignitatem, per vaccinium, contemnendos inferioris et fastiditæ amasiæ amplexus intelligens."

DEMPSTER, Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 496.

Upon this nymph fra that scho cast hir ei,
Blusching for schame out of her schyne she slippis,
Thinking scho had bene Phebus verilie,
At whose depairt scho fell into th' eclipris.

The asters cleir, and torchis of the nicht,
Quhilk in the sterrie firmament were fixit,
Fra thay persavit Dame Phœbe los hir light,
Lyke diamonts with cristall perls mixit,
They did discend to schyne this nymph annixit,
Upon hir schoulders twinkling everie on :
Quhilk to depaint it wald be owr prolixit,
How thay in ordour glister on hir gown.

According to this magnificent description, Lady Margaret in the plenitude of power could derange the solar system, and, with irresistible attraction, draw the more remote stars from their orbits. Lady Margaret, when stript of her borrowed plumage, had in all probability nothing left to distinguish her from the crowd of courtly beauties : but she happened to occupy an enviable station in the fertile fancy of an admiring poet ; and his ardent devotion could not be satisfied with bestowing on its object attributes less than divine.

The following lyric poem, which I have transcribed from the Drummond MS. seems to have been written in celebration of the same lady.

Quhy bene ye, Musis! all so long
On sleep this mony a day?
Let not your harmony and song
In silence thus decay.
Distill by influence
Your stremis of eloquence,
That throu your heuinlie liquor sueit
My pen in rhetorie may fleit,
For till expres
The comlines
Of my maistres
With joy repleit.

To kythe hir cunning Natur wald
Indeu hir with sik grace:
My spreit rejosis to behald
Hir smyling angels face.
Lyk Phœbus in the south,
To skorne the rest of youth,
Hir curling loks lyk golden rings
About hir hevinly haffats hings;
Quhilk to decore
Hir body more,
Quhom I adore
Above all things.

Hir brouis ar brent; lyk golden threeds,
Hir siluer-shining brees:
The bony blinks my courage feeds
Of hir tua christall ees,
Tuinkling illuminous
With beamis amorous;
Quhairin tua naikit boyis resorts,
Quhais countenance good hope reports;

For they appeir
With smyling cheir,
As thay wald speir
At me some sports.

Hir comelie cheeks, of vive colour
Of rid and whyt ymixt,
Ar lyk the sanguene jonet-flour
Into the lillie fixt:
Hir mouth mellifluous,
Hir breathing savorous,
Hir rosie lippis most eminent,
Her teeth lyk pearle of orient,
Hir halse more whyt
Nor I can wryt;
With that perfyt,
And sapient.

Hir vestall breist of ivorie,
Quhairon ar fixit fast
Tua twins of clene virginitie,
Lyk boullis of alabast.
Out throw hir snauie skin
Maist cleirlie kythes within
Hir saphir veins lyk threids of silk,
Or violets in whytest milk:
If Natur sheu
Hir hevinlie heu
In whyt and blew,
It wes that ilk.

Hir armes ar long, hir shulders braid,
Hir middill gent and small:
The mold is lost wharin wes maid
This *a per se* of all.

The gods ar in debait
Concerning hir estait.
Diana keeps this Margarit,
Bot Hymen hights to mak hir meit:
Deserve let sie
Amount from thrie.
Go, merie she,
That is so sweit.

Quha can both shoot and open loks
As can this only kie?
Persaiv this pithie paradox,
And mark it weil in me:
Quhais beutie hes my burt?
Quhais beutie healls my hurt?
Quhais beutie blythnes me bereivis?
Quhais beutie gladnes to me givis?
Quhais beutie, lo!
Dois me undo?
Quhais beutie tó
My spreit revivis?

A quotation from Montgomery's *Echo* may serve as a specimen of a fantastic mode of composition which formerly prevailed.

Quhat lovers, Echo! maks sik querimony?	Mony.
Quhat kynd of fyre doth kindle thair curage?	Rage.
Quhat medicine—O Echo! knowis thow ony	On ay.
Is best to stay this Love of his passage?	Age.
Quhat merit thay that culd our sighs assuage?	Wage.
Quhat wer we first in this our love profane?	Fain.
Quhair is our joy? O Echo! tell agane.	Gane.

Poetical echoes are of no modern invention; examples of this puerile species of composition may be found in the Anthology, in the works of Aristophanes, and perhaps in those of other Greek writers. But, in the opinion of Julius Scaliger, it was more happily managed by the Latins[j]; among whom it would seem to have been industriously cultivated during the decline of classical purity. Such laborious triflers have fallen under the scrutiny of Martial:

> Quòd nec carmine glorior supino,
> Nec retro lego Sotaden cinædum,
> Nusquam Græcula quod recantat Echo,
> Nec dictat mihi luculentus Atys
> Mollem debilitate galliambon,
> Non sum, Classice, tam malus poeta[k].

Sidonius mentions Lampridius, a rhetorician of Bourdeaux cotemporary with himself, as a writer of echoing elegies[l].

j Scaligeri Poetice, lib. ii. cap. xxix.

k Martialis Epigrammata, lib. ii. ep. lxxxvi.—Of the different species of versification mentioned in this epigram, an account may be found in the ponderous commentary of Raderus. (*Ad Martialem Curæ Tertiæ*, p. 235. Moguntiæ, 1627, fol.)

l Sidonii Opera, p. 236.—Sirmond, the very learned editor, thus explains the text: "Echoicos autem elegos ab Echo dicere videtur eos, quorum *principii* ac *finis* idem est hemistichium: *ὁμαυτὸς ἡ κύκλος* diceret Hermogenes. Tale est Pentadii de adventu veris integrum epigramma, in eoque de Echo ipsa hoc distichum:

> Per cava saxa sonat pecudum mugitibus Echo,
> Voxque repulsa jugis per cava saxa sonat.

The practice of composing on this model, after it had been for a considerable time discontinued, was perhaps revived by the celebrated Politian; who informs us that he wrote, in the Italian language, verses of this description which had been set to music[m]. Erasmus presents us with a morsel of prose adapted to a similar pattern. Echo is the respondent in one of his colloquies, and returns sundry laconic and facetious answers.

A specimen of echoing poetry occurs among the works of David Hume of Godscroft[n]. Captain William Mercer's English verses in commendation of Henderson, Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, are written in the same wretched taste[o]. Montgomery, Hume, and Mercer, are perhaps the only Scotish poets who have fallen into this egregious trifling.

Montgomery and Polwart seem to have been ambitious of rivalling their predecessors Dunbar and Kennedy: they have exhausted almost every term of abuse which the language then afforded[p].

Scio in Servii Centimetro echoicum versum definiri cujus ultima syllaba penultimæ congruit, ut est hic:

Exercet mentes fraternas gratia rara.

Sed hoc genus ad Sidonium non facit, qui artificia tractat quæ in elegis cernuntur." (*Notæ ad Sidonium*, p. 90.)

m Politiani Miscellanea, cap. xxii.

n Humil Daphn. Amaryllis. Lond. 1605, 4to.

o Mercer's *Angliæ Speculum*, or England's Looking-Glasse, sig. N. 2. b. Lond. 1646, 4to.

p If we may credit Dempster, the antagonist of Montgomery was Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. (*Hist. Eccleziast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 358.)

Their *Flyting*, to adopt the words of Lord Hailes, only tends to evince how poor, how very poor, genius appears, when its compositions are debased by the meanest prejudices of the meanest vulgar.

To the religious strains of Montgomery we listen with more satisfaction. Besides composing various poems of a pious tendency, he has versified several of the psalms in a peculiar measure, which was perhaps adapted to the church music. His mind seems at all times to have been imprest with a proper sense of the importance of religious duties.

Montgomery is almost the only Scotish poet who has composed any considerable number of sonnets in his native language. The Drummond MS. contains no fewer than seventy poems of this description. As they cannot but be deemed an object of some curiosity, I have selected the following six; which are written on different subjects, and possess different degrees of merit.

High architectur, wondrous vautit rounds,
Huge host of hevin in restless-rolling spheers,
Firme-fixt polis whilk all the axtrie beirs,
Concordant discords, suete harmonious sounds,
Boud zodiak, circle belting Phœbus bounds,
Celestiall signis, of moneths making yeers,
Bright Titan to the tropicks that reteirs,
Quhais fyrie flammis all chaos' face confounds,

Just-balanc'd ball amidst the hevins that hings,
All creaturs that Natur creat can
To serve the use of most unthankfull man;
Admire your maker, only king of kings:
Prais him, O man! his mervels that remarks,
Quhais mercyis far exceids his wondrous warks.

My plesuris past procures my present pain,
My present pain expels my plesurs past,
My languishing, alace! is lyk to last,
My grief ay groues, my gladenes wants a grene,
My bygane joyes I can not get agane,
Bot, once imbarkit, I must byde the blast:
I can not chuse; my kinsh is not to cast:
To wish it war, my wish wald be bot vane.
Yit whill I sey my senses to dissaive,
To pleis my thoght I think a thousand things,
Quhilks to my breist bot boroude blythnes brings.
Anis hope I had, thoght nou dispair I haive,
A stratagem, thoght strange, to stay my sturt,
By apprehensioun for to heill my hurt.

Suete nichtingale! in holene grene that han[ts],
To sporte thy self, and speciall in the spring,
Thy chivring chirls, whilks [charminglie thou chants],
Maks all the roches round about thé ring;
Whilk slaiks my sorow so to heir thé sing,
And lights my louing langour at the leist.
Yit thoght thou sees not, sillie saikles thing!
The peircing pykis, brods at thy bony breist,
Euin so am I by plesur lykuyis preist,

In gritest danger whair I most delyte.
Bot since thy song for shoring hes not ceist,
Suld feble I for feir my conqueis quyt?
Na, na; I love the freshest phœnix fair,
In beutie, birth, in bountie, but compair.

The hevinlie furie that inspyr'd my spreit
Quhen sacred beughis war wont my brouis to bind,
With frostis of fashrie frozen is that heet;
My garland grene is withrit with the wind.
Ye knau *Occasio* hes no hair behind:
The bravest spreits hes tryde it treu I trou;
The lang-forspoken proverb true I find,
No man is man, and man is no thing now:
The cuccou flees befor the turtle-dou;
The pratling pyet matchis with the Musis;
Pan with Apollo playis I wot not hou;
The attircops Minerva's office usis.
These be the grievis that garris Montgomrie gr[udge],
That Mydas, not Mecenas, is our judge.

Excuse me, Plato, if I suld suppone,
That underneth the heuinlie vauted round,
Without the world, or in parts profound
By Stix inclos'd, that emptie place is none.
If watrie vauts of air be full echone,
Then what contenis my teirs, which so abound
With sighis and sobbis, which to the heavins I sound
Whch Love delightis to let me mak my mone?

Suppose the solid subtilis ay restrantis,
  Which is the maist, my maister, ye may mene,
  Thoght all war void, yit culd they not contene
The half, let be the haill, of my complaintis.
  Whair go thay then, the question wald I [craiv],
  Except for ruth the hevins suld thame [recaiv]?

So sucte a kis yistrene fra thee I reft
  In bouing doun thy body on the bed,
That evin my lyfe within thy lippis I left.
  Sensyne from thee my spirit wald neuer shed:
  To folou thee it from my body fled,
And left my corps als cold as ony kie.
  Bot when the danger of my death I dred,
To seik my spreit I sent my harte to thee;
Bot it was so inamored with thyne ee,
  With thee it myndit lykwyse to remane:
So thou hes keipit captive all the thrie,
More glaid to byd then to returne agane.
  Except thy breath thare places had suppleit,
  Euen in thyne armes thair doutles had I deit.

The sonnet, a native of Italy, had been transplanted into the garden of English poetry by the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyat, writers who adorned the court of Henry the Eighth. This species of composition, which at first seems to have been principally cultivated by men of rank and fashion, soon became a favourite vehicle of amatory and moral sentiment: and the example of such writers as Shakespeare, Spenser, Daniel,

and Watson, tended strongly to recommend it to the poets of Great Britain. But the fabric of a legitimate sonnet, however adapted to the Italian language, is seldom reared with much propriety in ours, which possessing a greater variety of termination, requires the rhymes to be often changed[q]. Most of the little poems which, under the appellation of sonnets, have lately inundated the readers of English poetry, are by no means entitled to the name which they assume.

[q] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. i. p. 236.

THE

LIFE

OF

K. JAMES THE SIXTH.

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THE political character of King James, and the public transactions of his reign, have been detailed by writers of every denomination; but his literary history, notwithstanding the laudable industry of Dr Harris, has not hitherto been investigated with that degree of accuracy which it seems to demand. This monarch, whatever may be alleged by those who execrate his moral qualities, was undoubtedly possest of no contemptible share of learning: and he was engaged in controversies, or connected by personal attachment, with many distinguished individuals who at that time adorned the republic of letters.

His Scotish poems, though certainly more remarkable for their number than for their excellence, are not so despicable as to exclude his name

from the present catalogue. In the progress of the subsequent desultory narrative our attention must be directed, almost exclusively, to his character and conduct as a scholar: and it may perhaps be found a somewhat amusing task to institute a comparison between his real merits, and the hyperbolical encomiums which he received in an age that abounded with literary sycophants.

Charles James Stewart, the son of Henry and Mary Stewart, sovereigns of Scotland, was born in the castle of Edinburgh on the nineteenth of June, one thousand five hundred and sixty-six. His father, the eldest son of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, had been selected by the queen on account of his superficial attractions; but his total deficiency in every estimable quality soon alienated the affection which he had so easily excited. Within the space of a few months after their nuptials, they began to entertain that mutual disgust which at length produced such fatal effects. Henry was murdered in the year 1567: and there are strong reasons for believing that Mary was not unacquainted with the machinations which had been formed against his life.

In the course of the same year the queen was imprisoned in the castle of Lochlevin, and compelled to make a formal surrender of her kingdom. Her infant son was crowned at Stirling on the twenty-ninth of July: and during his minority the affairs of the nation were successively

managed by the Earls of Murray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton. In 1568 she formed and executed the unfortunate resolution of seeking refuge in England; where she was long subjected to all the indignities and misery which a cruel and unprincipled rival could inflict.

James, soon after his birth, had been entrusted to the care of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of a highly honourable and disinterested character. When he arrived at a proper age, his education was chiefly left to the superintendency of the earl's brother Alexander Erskine. His principal preceptors were George Buchanan and Sir Peter Young; men who appear to have been admirably qualified for so important an office. Under their direction, he made such a progress in the study of classical learning as royal pupils have seldom equalled.

From the general state of religious opinions in the nation, as well as from the known character of Buchanan, the Protestants on the continent seem to have conceived early hopes of finding, in the Scotish king, a powerful accession to their cause. To him, yet in the fourteenth year of his age, the celebrated Theodore Beza inscribed his *Icones Virorum Illustrium*, in a strain sufficiently calculated for conciliating his affections to the interests of religious liberty[a].

[a] Bezæ Icones Virorum Doctrinâ simul et Pietate Illustrium. Genevæ, 1580, 4to.—The dedication is confronted with a portrait of the young king.

The regent Morton, after having disgusted the nation by his conduct, found it expedient, in 1578, to resume his station as a private man. His dexterity soon enabled him to usurp the authority which he had lately enjoyed: but the renewed attempts of his numerous enemies at length effected his ruin; in the year 1581 he was publicly executed at Edinburgh.

The young king had now begun to act the part of a royal pageant; but the management of public affairs was necessarily left to others. One of the earliest propensities which he discovered was an excessive attachment to favourites: and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendant during every stage of his life. His early favourites were Esmé Stewart, whom he created Duke of Lennox, and James Stewart, whom he created Earl of Arran. His violent partiality for these men irritated the impetuous spirit of the nobility: and in the year 1582 a powerful combination was formed for the purpose of depriving them of their undue influence. In prosecution of their plan, the adherents boldly seized the king's person at the Earl of Gowrie's castle of Ruthven, and retained him in their custody for upwards of ten months. Having at last found an opportunity to escape, he pursued his former system of favouritism.

James was now about to commence his career as a man of letters. In 1584, while he was yet in the eighteenth year of his age, he published *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie.* This collection was printed in quarto by Vautroullier. His *Paraphrase vpon the Revelation of the Apostle S. Iohn*, a work of a different complexion, must have been composed about the same period; for Dr Montague affirms that "it was written by his Majesty before he was twenty years of age."

The melancholy catastrophe of Queen Mary took place on the eighth of February, 1587[b].

[b] Mary was considered as a martyr to the Popish religion; and her fate was bewailed by several illustrious poets of the same tenets: A poem on her death occurs among the *Poesies de M. du Perron*, p. 117. The following verses "De Nece Reginæ Scotiæ" were written by another cardinal, who was afterwards elevated to the papal dignity:

Te quanquam immeritam ferit, O regina, securis,
Regalique tuum funus honore caret;
Sorte tuâ gaude, mœrens neque Scotia ploret:
En tibi pompa, tuas quæ decet exequias.
Nam tibi non paries atro velatur amictu,
Sed terras circum nox tenebrosa tegit:
Non tibi contextis lucent funalia lignis,
Sed cœli stellæ: mœnia tristis abest,
Sed canit ad pheretrum superûm chorus aliger; et me,
Cœlesti incipiens voce, silere jubet.

Maphæi S. R. E. Card. Barbarini nunc Urbani PP. VIII. Poemata, p. 213. edit. Antverp. 1634, 4to.

Mary, like her father, her husband, and her son, was a lover of polite literature. "The kings father," says Dr Montague, "translated Valerius Maximus into English; and the queene his Maiesties mother wrote

Although James manifested a resolution of avenging the cruelty which had been exercised on his mother, and the insult which had been offered to the Scotish nation, yet he was at length soothed by the artifices of the royal murderer, and restrained by the consciousness of his own weakness. He was not endowed with any uncommon share of natural affection: and as he had never known his parent in the tender endearments of their mutual relation, his principles of filial piety had more rarely been called into exertion. He must besides have been taught to regard her character in no very favourable point of view: several of his courtiers were the creatures of Elizabeth; and, in coöperation with her plans, endeavoured to inspire him with sentiments which it did not become him as the son of an affectionate mother to entertain. He had been instigated by the Master of Gray to address to her, during her rigorous captivity, an undutiful letter which contained a harsh refusal to acknowledge her as Queen of Scotland. This instance of filial ingratitude made a deep impression on the susceptible mind of the ill-fated princess.

a booke of verses in French of the institution of a prince, all with her owne hand, wrought the couer of it with her needle, and is now of his Maiestie esteemed as a most pretious jewell." *(Preface to K. James's Works.)* Several French poems of Mary's composition may be found in various books. A lyric poem ascribed to Henry occurs among Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems, published from the MS. of George Bannatyne*, p. 220. Edinb. 1770, 12mo.

From the ignominious death of his mother James seems to have experienced no material interruption in his usual pursuits; the year which closed her sufferings was distinguished by several of his literary enterprizes. His poetical and theological studies engaged a pretty equal share of his royal attention: and in the mean time the affairs of the state were managed with no superior degree of political wisdom. He was eager to seize every opportunity of displaying his scholastic attainments; and, if we may credit certain historians, he inspired his subjects with the highest admiration of his erudition and sagacity. Dr James Gordon, a learned Jesuit related to the Earl of Huntley, had been commissioned to revisit his native country for the purpose of promoting the papal interest. King James, as the champion of the Protestant cause, challenged him to a solemn conference in the palace of Holyrood House: and although he was only in the twenty-first year of his age, he acquitted himself with such dexterity, that the clergy and other spectators either were or pretended to be filled with astonishment. He discussed the leading topics of controversy between the two churches; and, after a confutation which completely satisfied his auditory, dismissed in a gracious manner the venerable old man whom all his arguments could not convert from Popery[c].

[c] Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Historia, p. 125. Amst. 1655, fol.

He now bore the reputation of a learned monarch; and in process of time acquired the appellation of Solomon the Second. During the same year, he added, probably from solicitation, his contributions to the collection of verses published by the University of Cambridge on the lamented death of Sir Philip Sidney. The first poem in this collection is a Scotish sonnet by his Majesty; which is followed by the Latin versions of the author himself and three of his subjects. This specimen of James's Latinity, as it is unnoticed by our literary historians, I shall here transcribe:

Armipotens cui jus in fortia pectora Mavors;
Tu dea quæ cerebrum perrumpere digna tonantis;
Tuque adeo bijugæ proles Latonia rupis
Gloria, deciduæ cingunt quam collibus artes;
Vos etiam huc lachrymas conferte Heliconides, istum
Plangite, quo vestri non observantior alter,
Nec fuerat vestris insignior artibus alter:
Plangite talem inquam, quem Fata inopina tulere.
Cujus quid memorem, quid carmine persequar altum
Aut genus, aut viridis annos, aut quam dederat spem?
Exuit heu rapida mors illætabilis ictu,
Quo Mars, quo Pallas, quóque ipsum ornavit Apollo.
Sed venerandus honos cineri superinduit urnam;
Parte etiam meliore sui super æthera vivit.

The same collection also contains a hexastich by the royal poet:

Vidit ut exanimem tristis Cytherea Philippum,
Flevit, et hunc Martem credidit esse suum;
Eripuit digitis gemmas, colloque monile,
Marti iterum nunquam ceu placitura foret.
Mortuus, humanâ qui lusit imagine divam,
Quid faceret jam, si viveret, ille? rogo [d].

In 1588 was published "Ane Fruitful Meditation, containing ane Plaine and Facile Exposition of the 7, 8, 9, and 10, verses of the xx. chap. of the Revelation, in forme of ane Sermone; set down by the maist Christiane king and syncier professour and cheif defender of the faith, James the 6th. King of Scottis." During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this book of sacred scripture was a favourite subject of speculation: expositions of the Revelation were composed by Napier of Merchiston, Bishop Forbes, Bishop Cowper, Dr Guild, James Durham, and other Scotish authors.

James now began to form schemes of matrimony. His first proposals were made to the eldest daughter of Frederick the Second, King of Denmark: but as Queen Elizabeth was jealous of his forming any alliance of this kind, she induced his venal ministers to conduct the negociation in such a manner as led the Danish king to suspect, that the object of the Scotish court was to deceive himself and to amuse other sove-

[d] Academiæ Cantabrigensis Lachrymæ Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis D. Philippi Sidneii sacratæ per Alexandrum Nevillum. Lond. 1587, 4to.

reigns. In the mean time therefore he bestowed his daughter in marriage on the Duke of Brunswick. This mortification did not prevent James from courting another alliance with the same house: a splendid embassy, with the Earl Marischal at its head, was dispatched to Denmark invested with ample power to conclude a treaty of marriage with the Princess Anne, the second daughter of Frederick. The articles of marriage were arranged without much difficulty, and his intended bride speedily began her voyage towards Scotland; but the fleet which conducted her was suddenly compelled to seek shelter under the coast of Norway. James, irritated by this fresh disappointment, determined to assume, at least once in his life, the man of gallantry. He prepared a squadron with secrecy and dispatch; and, accompanied by Chancellor Maitland and a numerous train of attendants, took his speedy departure for the Danish dominions. On the twenty-second of October, 1589, he arrived at a small haven in the immediate neighbourhood of Upslo, where the princess was then residing. Their nuptials were solemnized on the twenty-fourth of November. They afterwards proceeded to Copenhagen, where they spent the winter and the ensuing spring.

The gaiety which a court is apt to assume on such an occasion as this, did not render James altogether unmindful of his literary character.

The celebrated Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe had about this period begun to distinguish himself as an improver of science. The Scotish king, attended by a train of courtiers, paid him a welcome visit; and discoursed with him on various subjects connected with the studies which he had cultivated with such eminent success[c]. James was so highly gratified with this interview, that he not only presented him with several tokens of his regard, but also celebrated his excellencies in two copies of Latin verses, and granted him a royal diploma or privilege relative to the property of his works within the Scotish dominions. With respect to the merit of his Majesty's complimentary verses the reader shall now be furnished with an opportunity of exercising his own judgment.

Æthereis bis quinque globis, quibus machina mundi
Vertitur, ut celso est crustatus fornice Olympus
Ignibus, et pictus fulgentibus undique lychnis:
Pellucent vitreis domibus, vastisque planetæ
Orbibus; ut geminant cursus, vi et sponte rotati,
Ut miti, aut torvo ad pectu longe antè futura
Præmonstrant, regnisque tonans, quæ fata volutet:
His tellure cupis, quæ vis, quis motus, et ordo
Cernere: sublimem deductumque æthera terræ
Tychonis pandunt operæ: lege, disce, videbis
Mira; domi mundum invenies, cœlumque libello.

[c] Gassendi Vita Tychonis Brahei, p. 122. Paris. 1654, 4o.

The other little poem is written in a different measure.

Quàm temere est ausus Phaëton, vel præstat Apollo,
Qui regit igninomos æthere anhelus equos:
Plus Tycho: cuncta astra regis; tibi cedit Apollo;
Charus et Uraniæ es hospes, alumnus, amor [f].

Gassendi has published as the production of Tycho Brahe a poem which bears the inscription, "De Classe Hispaniæ; interpretatio carminis à Serenissimo Rege Scotiæ conscripti."

Insano tumidæ gentes coïere tumultu,
Auræ, insigne nefas, bello ultro ciere tonantem:
Mars sæve accinuit; metuenda tot agmina nunquam
Visa fuerunt; properare truces miro ordine turmæ,
Nosque mari et terrâ sævo clausere duello,
Exitium dirique minantes cæde ruinam:
Irrita sed tristi lugent conamine fine.
Nam lacerás jecit ventus ludibria puppes,
Et sparsit rapidis turgescens montibus æquor.
Felix communi qui evasit clade superstes,
Dum reliquos misero diglutit abyssus hiatu.
Cui vis tanta cadit? quis totque stupenda peregit?
Vanos Jova sacro commotus risit Olympo [g].

[f] These two poems, as well as the "Privilegium Regis Scotorum," which is dated in the year 1593, I find in Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiæ Instauratæ Progymnasmata*, Uraniburg. 1610, 4to. They must have been inserted in some earlier edition. The poems have this colophon: "Jacobus Rex f. manuque propriâ scripsit."

Relative to the celebrated astronomer, several curious particulars, omitted by Gassendi, may be found in the excellent Huet's memoirs of his own life. (Huetii *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. ii.)

[g] Gassendi Vita Tychonis Brahei, p. 302.

This version of *His Maiesties owne Sonnet* Dr Montague ascribes to Lord Thirlstane[h]. Gassendi has however exhibited it, and without hesitation, as the composition of the celebrated Dane. It appears to have been found among his other papers with the initials of his name affixed. The chancellor, who accompanied James to Denmark, might have received it from Tycho Brahe; and a copy, in his own hand-writing, might be found among his manuscripts after his decease. But the reverse of this supposition is equally probable.

James was also attentive to objects which interested him in his regal capacity; he appears, as Mr Barrington remarks, to have spent a larger portion of his time in the Danish courts of justice, than in acts of gallantry or politeness towards his consort[i]. Many of his hours however were probably consumed in a manner somewhat more riotous than became a king or a scholar: one of his letters is dated "from the castell of Croneburg, quhaire we are drinking and dryuing our in the auld maner."

The navigation of the northern seas being now sufficiently safe, he determined to conduct his queen to Scotland. They arrived at Leith on the first of May, 1590, and were welcomed by

[h] K. James's Works, p. 89.

[i] Barrington's Observations upon the Statutes, p. 427.

the people with the common expressions of public joy.

His literary pursuits did not experience any serious interruption. In 1591 he published a quarto volume entitled *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres.*

This year was marked by the death of Archbishop Adamson, a learned and ingenious man who had once been honoured with various proofs of his sovereign's regard. James however, unmindful of the zeal which the primate had displayed in his service, suffered him to languish out his latter days in extreme poverty. At an earlier period he had composed the following sonnet in commendation of Adamson's poetical paraphrase of the book of Job:

In vandring vealth through burbling brooks and bewis,
  Of tripping troups and flocks on fertil ground,
In cattell great of syndrie schaips and hewis,
  Vith hoifes all haill or in a parted round,
In heapes of gold, and riches in all vaies,
  As Iob exceld all vthers micht be found
Of monarchs great or princes in his daies;
So this translatour merites no les praise
  For giftes of spreit nor he for giftes of geir;
And God in grace hath giuen such counterpoise
  As his translation to the vork is peir;
He did in him his giftes so visely mell,
Whose heauenlie vealth Iobs earthlie vealth doeth tell[1].

[1] Adamsoni Poemata Sacra. Lond. 1619, 4to.

Lord Thirlstane, "a man of rare parts, and of a deep wit, learned, full of courage, and most faithful to his king," dying in the year 1595, James honoured his memory with the following epitaph:

Thou passenger that spies with gazing eyes
This trophie sad of Death's triumphant dart,
Consider when this outward tombe thou sees,
How rare a man leaves here his earthly part;
His wisdom and his uprightness of heart,
His piety, his practice of our state,
His quick engine so verst in every art,
As equally not all were in debate.
Thus justly hath his death brought forth of late
An heavy grief in prince and subjects all
That vertue love, and vice do bear at hate,
Though vitious men rejoyces at his fall.
So for himself most happy doth he die,
Though for his prince it most unhappy be[k].

His *Dæmonologie* was published in the year 1597. Of the plan and object of this well-known production he presents his readers with the following summary account: "The fearefull abounding at this time in this countrey of these detestable slaues of the Diuel, the witches or enchaunters, hath mooued mee (beloued reader) to dispatch in post this following treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serue for a shew

[k] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 417.

of my learning and ingine, but onely (moued of conscience) to preasse threby, so farre as I can, to resolue the doubting hearts of many; both that such assaults of Satan are most certainely practised, and that the instruments thereof merits most seuerely to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our aage, whereof the one called Scot, an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike print to deny, that there can be such a thing as witch-craft: and so maintaines the old errour of the Sadduces in denying of spirits; The other called Wierus, a German physition, sets out a publike apologie for all these crafts-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainely bewrayes himselfe to haue bene one of that profession. An for to make this treatise the more pleasant and facill, I haue put it in forme of a dialogue, which I haue diuided into three bookes: The first speaking of magie in generall, and necromancie in speciall: The second, of sorcerie and witch-craft: and the third containes a discourse of all these kinds of spirits and spectres that appeares and troubles per se, together with a conclusion of the whole worke. My intention in this labour is onely to prooue two things, as I haue already said: The one, that such diuelish artes haue bene and are: The other, what exact triall and seuere punishment they merit: and therefore reason I, What kinde of things are possible to be performed in these arts,

and by what naturall causes they may be, not that I touch euery particular thing of the Diuels power, for that were infinite: but onely, to speake scholastickely, (since this cannot be spoken in our language) I reason vpon *genus*, leauing *species* and *differentia* to bee comprehended therein."

The writers whom James has mentioned in such indignant terms are entitled to a grateful tribute of applause: they flourished at a period when the existence of witchcraft was an established article of belief; and strenuously endeavoured by the force of reason to counteract the inhuman effects which frequently resulted from the false impression. They were the advocates of truth and humanity; James was the abettor of superstition and cruelty. Nor will it be considered as any disparagement to the royal author, to affirm that the learning of Scot and of Wierus was at least equal to his own [1].

The opinions advanced in this production have however subjected him to an undue degree of contempt; they were the current opinions of the age in which he lived. To demonstrate the prevalence of extreme credulity even among men of

[1] Reginald Scot, Esq. published a learned work with this title: "The Discovery of Witchcraft; proving the Compacts and Contracts of Witches with Devils and all Infernal Spirits or Familiars are but Erroneous Novelties and Imaginary Conceptions," &c. The third edition was published at London in folio in the year 1665. Wierus wrote a treatise *De Lamiis*, and another *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*. (Joannis Wieri *Opera*. Amst. 1660, 4to.)

genius and erudition, a thousand examples might be amassed: I shall however content myself with a more moderate number. Julius Cæsar Scaliger, a man of stupendous intellect, persuaded himself and others that he was often visited with prophetic dreams: and his son Joseph, the rival of his fame, has not scrupled to record one of his divinations [m]. His antagonist Cardan was guilty of more remarkable weakness: he was professedly addicted to the study of judicial astrology: his works are replenished with stories of devils and apparitions; he gravely informs us that his father had intercourse with a dæmon [n]; he pretends that he himself received such intimations from a dæmon as were granted to Socrates and other ancient philosophers [o]; and, to conclude the enumeration, he relates a silly story of an omen respecting the future destiny of his eldest son [p]. During the sixteenth century, the existence of witches was strenuously maintained by Bodin and other authors. Even in England it was maintained at a later period by writers of no despicable character; by Meric Casaubon, Joseph Glanvil, and Henry More. It was maintained by a Scotish lawyer who flourished during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

[m] Josephus Justus Scaliger de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligerorum et J. C. Scaligeri Vitâ, p. 48. 53. Lugd. Bat. 1594, 4to.

[n] Cardan. de Utilitate ex Adversis Capienda, p. 335.

[o] Cardan. de Propria Vita, p. 261. edit. Naudæi.

[p] Cardan. de Libris Propriis, p. 5.

the existence of witchcraft, says Sir George Mackenzie, the lawyer cannot entertain any doubt; "seeing our law ordains it to be punished by death[q]." This argument is irrefragable! But, whatever may be its validity, it is well known that many inoffensive and miserable victims were legally murdered by the statute to which it refers. In the year 1643, upwards of thirty supposed witches were committed to the flames in the county of Fife within the space of a few months[r].

If James was remotely accessory to such a waste of human blood, he can only be charged with the sin of ignorance: and such ignorance as this will not appear very criminal when we candidly estimate the character of the age in which he lived. That age received his *Dæmonologie* with approbation. It is repeatedly quoted by the learned Scipio Gentilis in a manner which indicates his respect for the author[s].

In 1598 James published "The Trew Law of Free Monarchies; or the Reciprok and Mvtvall Dvetie betwixt a free King and his naturall Subiects." During the following year he committed to the press his "Βασιλικον Δωρον or his Maiesties In-

[q] Mackenzie's Criminal Law of Scotland, part i. tit. x.

[r] Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 379.

[s] "Sed eam firmat maximus et sapientissimus regum, idemque Magnæ Britanniæ primus monarcha Jacobus I. in lib. iii. Dæmonologiæ."

GENTILIS in Apulcii Apologiam Commentarius, p. 162. Hanoviæ, 1607, 8vo.

strvctions to his dearest sonne, Henry the Prince." Of the circumstances attending the publication of this work, Archbishop Spotswood presents us with a particular account: "The same year did the king publish his *Doron Basilicon* upon this occasion. Sir James Semple, one of his Majesties servants, (whose hand was used in transcribing that treatise) upon an old familiarity with Mr Andrew Melvill, did give it him to read, who offending with some passages that touched the ministry and present discipline, took copies thereof, and dispersed the same among the ministers: thereupon a libel was formed, and cast in before the synod of St Andrews, wherein the passages at which they excepted being first set down, it was asked, 'What censure should be inflicted upon him that had given such instructions to the prince, (for that treatise was directed to Prince Henry); and if he could be thought well-affected to religion, that had delivered such precepts of government.'-----The rumour by this occasion dispersed, that the king had left certain directions to his son prejudicial to the church and religion, he took purpose to publish the work; which being come abroad, and carried to England, it cannot be said how well the same was accepted, and what an admiration it raised in all mens hearts of him, and of his piety and wisdom."[t]

[t] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 457.—James, in the preface to his work, presents us with a different account of its publication; but I prefer the authority of Spotswood.

The mysterious transaction known by the appellation of Gowrie's conspiracy ensued in the year 1600. An account of this conspiracy was published by the king himself: but his statements were received with no very explicit credit. Robert Bruce, an eminent preacher, declared that "He would reverence his Majesty's report of that accident, but would not say he was persuaded of the truth of it." For these bold expressions he was banished the king's dominions[u].

Queen Elizabeth died in the year 1603, after having nominated the Scotish king as her successor. He departed from Edinburgh on the fifth of April, and by slow journies proceeded towards London. The king and queen were solemnly crowned at Westminster on the twenty-fifth of July. On this occasion James exhibited a characteristic instance of vanity; the money intended for distribution among the populace, he ordered to be struck with the inscription of *Cæsar Cæsarum*[v].

[u] Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 462. edit. Lond. 1677, fol.—With respect to this mysterious passage of history Mr Pinkerton has lately proposed a new theory. See his ingenious dissertation, inserted in the first volume of Mr Laing's *History of Scotland*.

[v] "Jacques Roy d'Angleterre lors qu'il fut couronné, fit une largesse au peuple comme on fait à la creation de roys, et fit battre une nouvelle monnoye, ou il avoit fait mettre *Cæsar Cæsarum*, chose absurde et inoüye; il tasche de les faire toutes refondre; j'en ay une piece. Le Roy d'Angleterre d'aujourd'huy est encore meilleur que---O le pauvre roy!"

SCALIGERANA, p. 116.

Among the first of his literary exploits after his arrival, was his engaging in a conference at Hampton Court with a deputation of the Puritans. He was supported by several of the bishops: the other party consisted of Dr Reynolds, Dr Sparks, Mr Knewstubbs, Mr Chadderton, and Mr Patrick Galloway. These ministers preferred a request to his Majesty, "that the doctrine of the church might be preserved in purity, according to God's word; that good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same; that church government might be sincerely ministered, according to God's word; and that the book of common prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety [w]." These propositions are certainly far from being extravagant: yet James, who acted as the oracle of the Episcopalians, immediately rejected them in his double capacity of a king and a scholar. During the conference he seems to have deported himself with much pedantry and little moderation. We are however assured that he "managed this discourse with such power (which they expected not from him, and therefore more danted at) that Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury (though a holy, grave, and pious man) highly pleased with it, with a sugred bait (which princes are apt enough to swallow) said,

[w] Harris's Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James the First, p. 90. Lond. 1753, 8vo.

He was verily persuaded, that the king spake by the spirit of God [x]."

His accession to the throne of England seems to have excited fresh curiosity with respect to his literary attainments. During this year his Βασιλικον Δωρον was republished at London; was translated into French by Villiers Hotman, the son of the well-known civilian [y]; and was moreover paraphrased in English and in Latin verse by William Willymat [z]. His exposition of the Revelation was also reprinted at London.

Grotius, in his *Inauguratio Regis Britanniarum*, has not left uncelebrated the royal scholar's early and steady attachment to letters:

> Quæ tam docta fuit, quamvis privata, juventus?
> O decus ingenii, ô pulsæ regalibus aulis
> Doctrinæ super una fides, tibi sacra suppellex
> Chartarum, quascunque manus scripsere beatæ,
> Pro jaculis arcuque fuit: nec quærere tantùm,
> Si qua Caledoniis fera palarctur in agris,
> Quantùm Pierios juvit lustrasse recessus.

[x] Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 8.

[y] Colomiés, Bibliothéque Choisie, p. 154.

[z] A Princes Looking Glasse, or a Princes Direction, very requisite and necessarie for a Christian Prince, to view and behold himselfe in, containing sundrie wise, learned, godly, and princely precepts and instructions, exerpted and chosen out of that most Christian and vertuous Βασιλικον Δωρον, or his Majesties Instructions to his dearest sonne Henrie the Prince, and translated into Latin and English verse, (his Majesties consent and approbation beeing first had and obtained thereunto) for the more delight and pleasure of the said Prince now in his young yeares: by William Willymat. Cambridge, 1603, 4to.

Hinc studiis reparatus honos, et Scotica nunquam
Socraticas tellus animosior ivit in artes
Æmula naturæ, palmamque negavit Athenis [a].

In the year 1605, James, accompanied by the queen and Prince Henry, paid a visit to the renowned University of Oxford. The academics were highly gratified by this indication of their learned sovereign's regard; and endeavoured, by every possible exertion, to testify their loyal attachment, as well as to inspire him with an exalted opinion of their scholastic attainments. James on his part received equal pleasure: he acted as moderator of the public disputations, and caught their spirit with as much warmth as was ever displayed by any professor. His ears were soothed by the delectable orations of Dr George Abbot the Vice-Chancellor, and those of other officers of the university: and the students exerted all their skill in the representation of such learned dramas as it was then customary to exhibit in colleges [b].

The same year was distinguished by the gunpowder treason; which afforded James an opportunity of displaying a degree of sagacity which

[a] Grotii Poemata, p. 64.

[b] Sir Isaac Wake, at that time Public Orator, published a copious account of the king's visit to Oxford, under the title of "Rex Platonicus: sive de Potentissimi Principis Jacobi Britanniarum Regis ad Illustrissimam Academiam Oxoniensem Adventu, Aug. 27. An. 1605." Oxon. 1607. 4to.

at least exceeded that of his council. The danger which the king and the parliament had so narrowly escaped, rendered them solicitous to prevent any future machinations of the popish party: an oath of allegiance, by which they disowned the power of the pope to dethrone his Majesty, or to alienate any part of his dominions, was tendered to such of the British subjects as professed that religion. This oath was taken by the majority of the Catholics, and, among others, by George Blackwell, Archpriest of England. Paul the Fifth was offended by this general compliance; and in 1606 issued a breve, in which he announced to the British Catholics that the oath of allegiance could not be taken without detriment to the faith, and to the salvation of their own souls. To such an admonition however they paid little attention; and were even inclined to treat the writ as a forgery. In the course of the following year, his Holiness issued another breve by way of enforcing obedience to the former: and Cardinal Bellarmin at the same time addressed a private letter to Blackwell, in which he laboured to place before his eyes the glories of martyrdom. James stood forth as the champion of his own cause, and published a work entitled "*Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*, or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance, against the two Breves of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the late Letter of Cardinall Bellarmine to G. Blackwell

the Arch-priest." In the composition of this apology, the Catholics represent him as having derived very material assistance from John Barclay, who at that time was residing in the British metropolis[b]: but suggestions of this kind are often false and invidious.

This publication was the prelude to a controversy of no vulgar denomination. The apology was translated into Latin, and being circulated in foreign countries, was speedily answered by writers of almost every description. Cardinal Bellarmin published, in 1608, a quarto volume entitled "Responsio ad Librum cui titulus Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus." This book, though it appeared under the fictitious name of Matthæus Tortus, was easily recognized as the production of the illustrious Jesuit. James now republished his apology, and added "A Premonition to all most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendome." Bellarmin was answered by Dr Lancelot Andrews, Dr John Gordon[c], Dean of Salisbury, and by several other writers. In 1610 he published his "Apologia pro Responsione sua ad Librum Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis." Bishop Andrews rejoined in the course of the same year[d]. During the follo-

[b] Erythræi Pinacotheca, tom. iii. p. 77.

[c] Gordonii Antitortobellarminus. Lond. 1610, 4to.—This work consists of an intermixture of prose and verse.

[d] The first work published by Bishop Andrews on this occasion is en-

ing year, Andreas Eudæmon-Johannes published his "Parallelus Torti et Tortoris ejus Lanceloti Cestrensis, seu Responsio ad Torturam Torti, pro Roberto Bellarmino;" which was answered by Dr Samuel Collins, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Dr Collins also published an English book in vindication of Dr Andrews.

James had likewise been assailed by Father Parsons, in a quarto volume published at St Omers in 1608, under the title of "The Judgement of a Catholick Englishman concerning K. James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance." This Jesuit was answered by Dr William Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. In 1610 M. Pelletier published "La Religion Catholique, &c. contre le livre de Jacques I. Roy d'Angleterre." During the same year Nicolas Coëffetau, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles, published a "Response à l'Avertissement, addressé à tous les Princes et Potentates de la Chretienté." This work was answered by Peter du Moulin; whose book was printed in Latin, French, and English. In 1610, King James, as well as Bishop Andrews, was attacked by Martinus Becanus. Dr William Tooker, Dean of Litchfield, replied in behalf of the royal author, in his "Certamen cum Martino Be-

titled "Tortura Torti; sive, ad Matthæi Torti Librum Responsio," Lond. 1609, 4to.; the second, "Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini quam nuper edidit contra Prefationem Monitoriam Jacobi Regis." Lond. 1610, 4to.

cano," printed at London during the following year. To this publication Becanus soon rejoined; and, about the same time, produced his book against Andrews. His attack on the bishop was repelled by Robert Burhill, and by Richard Harris..

James Gretser, the Jesuit, published at Ingolstad in 1610, " Βασιλικον Δωρον, seu Commentarius Exegeticus in Jacobi Regis Præfationem Minitoriam, et in ejusdem Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis." During the same year, Leonardus Cocquæus, a monk of the order of St Augustin, published at Friburg, an " Examen Præfationis Apologiæ Jacobi Regis." In 1611, Leonardus Lessius, the Jesuit, published an octavo volume entitled " De Antichristo et ejus Præcursoribus Disputatio, qua refutatur Præfatio Monitoria Jacobi Regis." Lessius was answered by Dr George Downame, afterwards Bishop of Londonderry, in a work published at London in 1620, under the title of " Papa Antichristus." Francis Suarez, another Jesuit of eminence, assailed the royal author in a " Defensio Fidei Catholicæ contra Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores, una cum Responsione ad Jacobi Regis Apologiam," printed at Coimbra in the year 1613. The tenets of Suarez and Bellarmin were exposed by Dr Robert Abbot, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; who had formerly refuted, in a manner so able as to excite the admiration of Joseph

Scaliger, the cardinal's notions relative to the fertile subject of Antichrist[c].

This violent contest was also remarkable for the interference of Isaac Casaubon; a scholar greatly superior to any of those who have yet been enumerated. After the assassination of Henry the Fourth, which took place in the year 1610, he was invited by James, with whom he had formerly corresponded, to fix his residence within the British dominions. Of this invitation, which was conveyed to him by a letter from Archbishop Abbot, he accordingly availed himself. He was presented with two prebends, of Canterbury and Westminster, and received other marks of the royal favour; but was not left to that liberal and uninterrupted pursuit of his private studies which would have rendered his situation agreeable to himself, and honourable to his protector. In the year 1611 he was employed to prepare a refutation of the apology which the Jesuits had published at Paris, in vindication of their order from the charge of having devised the gun-powder plot. He wrote a series of animadversions in the form of an epistle to Fronto

[c] The work to which I here allude is entitled "Antichristi Demonstratio, contra Fabulas Pontificias, et ineptam Roberti Bellarmini de Antichristo Disputationem." Lond. 1603, 4to. The other production of Dr Abbot was not published till the year after his death. It bears this title: "De Suprema Potestate Regia Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarminum et Franciscum Suarez." Lond. 1619, 4to.

Ducæus, a learned and estimable member of that society[f]. This publication produced an elaborate answer from Erycius Puteanus, Professor of Humanity at Louvain[g].

Before the contest was terminated, another remarkable personage sought refuge in Britain. This was Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato; an unquiet man of genius, who in his old age deserted the Papists, in the hope of being more amply rewarded by the Protestants. After his arrival in London, he published the first two volumes of his admired work *De Republica Ecclesiastica*; prefixing to each an encomiastic dedication to his new patron King James. For the further gratification of the monarch, he appended to the second volume a tract entitled *Ostensio Errorum Francisci Suarez.* His outrageous zeal in the Protestant cause was rewarded with the deanry of Windsor and the mastership of the Savoy: but these emoluments his restless spirit did not suffer him long to enjoy. In an evil hour he returned to Rome; and, after having made a public recantation of his late heresies, was flattered with the delusive hope of returning fa-

[f] Fronto Ducæus, or Fronton le Duc, is styled by Dr Geddes "the most learned editor of the first Greek and Latin Chrysostome, and one of the best critics of his age." The unblemished character of Ducæus and Schottus compelled Joseph Scaliger to own that even Jesuits might be honest. (*Scaligerana*, p 120.)

[g] Puteani in Is. Casauboni ad Front. Ducæum S. J. Theologum, V. C. Epistolam Strictura, Liber Prodromus. Lovanii, 1612, 4to.—These strictures were reprinted among the author's *Amanitates Humanæ.*

vour. He died in prison, opportunely enough: and his body was committed to the flames with every token of pious indignation[h].

Bellarmin was undoubtedly an adversary of no despicable character; but in Gaspar Scioppius the royal pedant found another still more formidable. Scioppius was a German by birth, and was educated in the Protestant faith; but, like Wowerus, Holstenius, and others of his learned countrymen, he became a proselyte to Popery. With that intemperance of zeal which commonly distinguishes converts of a certain description, he engaged in a general and bloody war against the eminent professors of the religion which he had abandoned; and, by the rudeness of his assaults, provoked the vengeance of Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, and Barthius[i]. It was among the number of those circumstances on which he chiefly felicitated himself, that the death of Scaliger and of Casaubon was occasioned by the corrosive qualities of his writings. These admirable scholars yielded to the common infirmities incident to human life: but this atrocious boast sufficiently indicates the temper and disposition of their adver-

[h] Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 102.

[i] Caspar Barthius is supposed to be the author of a work entitled *Cave Canem: de Vita, Moribus, Rebus Gestis, Dramatis, Gasperis Sciopii Apostatæ.* Hanoviæ, 1612, 8vo. This work was published under the fictitious name of Tarraus Hebius. The same volume includes three books of epigrams, entitled *Scioppius Exc. Hæc in Laudem ejus et Solecismi pro Josepho Scaligero et omnibus probis.*

sary. Scioppius now selected King James as a proper subject for the exercise of his peculiar talent; and continued his hostilities, with encreasing ardour, for the space of several years. But his Majesty, instead of engaging in equal conflict, commanded the obnoxious productions of his antagonist to be publicly burnt. When he afterwards visited the University of Cambridge, the students endeavoured to gratify his vindictive passions, by exhibiting a dramatic representation of Scioppius in the most degrading mode which their fancy could suggest[k]. His vengeance, if we may credit an enemy, was yet unsatiated: Scioppius affirms that in the year 1614 he was beset at Madrid by no fewer than eleven assassins, commissioned by the British ambassador; and after being pierced with many wounds, was abandoned as dead. When they had performed this exploit, he adds, they were heard to exclaim, "Bravo! we have at length murdered this great Papist." The complexion of this tale will be sufficient to vindicate James and his ambassador from the heavy charge preferred against them: Scioppius was anxious to advance his own reputation, and to recommend himself to the patronage of his Catholic friends; nor was he very scrupulous with regard to the mode of accomplishing his object. He represented himself as the hero

[k] M. Casauboni Pietas, p. 23.

of the Romish church. In his enumeration of "the talents of Christ entrusted to Gaspar Scioppius[l]," he dwells with singular complacency on his reiterated and formidable attack on the heretical king[m].

Sir Henry Wotton, by the malevolence of this professional controversialist, had nearly been involved in unmerited disgrace. As he proceeded on an embassy to Italy, he happened to make a halt of some days at the city of Augsburg in Germany: and being requested, while he was there spending one of his evenings in a convivial manner, to insert some sentence in a private album, he wrote the following ludicrous definition of an

[l] Scioppius de Pædia Humanarum ac Divinarum Literarum, p. 23.

[m] The following publications of Scioppius relate to the present subject: "Ecclesiasticus, Auctoritati Serenissimi D. Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis oppositus." Hartubergæ, 1611, 4to. "Collyrium Regium, Jacobo Regi Britanniæ, graviter ex oculis laboranti, muneri missum." *Apud Hieronymum Kreigsederium*, 1611, 8vo. "Alexipharmacum Regium, Felli Draconum et Veneno Aspidum sub Philippi Mornæi de Plessis nupera Papatûs Historia abdito, oppositum, Serenissimo D. Jacobo Mag. Brit. Regi Strenæ Januariæ loco muneri missum." Moguntiæ, 1612, 4to. "Scorpiacum; hoc est Novum ac Præsens adversus Protestantium Hæreses Remedium ab ipsismet Protestantibus Scorpionibus petitum, quo adversus Serenis. D. Jacobum Mag. Brit. Regem," &c. Mogunt. 1612, 4to. "Legatus Latro; hoc est Relatio de Latrocinio quod Regis Anglorum adversus Scioppium suscepit." Ingolstadii, 1615, 8vo.—Bayle supposes Scioppius to be the author of an ironical panegyric on King James, entitled *Corona Regia*, which was artfully produced as a posthumous composition of Isaac Casaubon.

The private character of Scioppius has been represented in a very unfavourable light by the Protestant writers: but Joseph Castalio, a learned Catholic, pronounces him "eximiæ doctrinæ et pietatis vir." (*Observationes in Criticos*, p. 16.)

ambassador: "An embassador is an honest man sent abroad to tell lyes for the good of his country[n]." Scioppius, at the distance of nearly eight years, introduced this sentence into his *Ecclesiasticus*, and endeavoured to persuade his readers that it not only expressed the private sentiments of Wotton, but was the very essence of the instructions delivered to him by his royal master. The false impression was eagerly received by the more zealous Papists: and at Venice this sentence was industriously exhibited in several of their windows. When King James was apprized of these circumstances, his anger was kindled against his jocular ambassador: and if Wotton had not appeased his resentment by addressing a letter to him, in vindication of his own innocence, and another to Marcus Velserus, against Scioppius[o], the consequences might perhaps have proved fatal to his fortunes[p].

The publication of the *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, and the controversy which it excited, had rendered James and the Catholic states less cordial towards each other. Notwithstanding the uniform tenor of his writings, he had long been suspected of a secret bias towards the Popish religion: and the courts of Rome and France had

[n] "Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ."

[o] Wottoni Epistola de Corporis Conspiratione. Amberg. 1611, 8vo.

[p] Walton's Life of Sir Henry Wotton, sig. C. 5.

even formed a project of effecting his complete conversion. In order to compass their design, the pope intended to propose a general Christian league against the Turks; trusting that by this expedient his emissaries should find a convenient opportunity for conciliating his attachment[n]. But the unceremonious manner in which he was accosted by many of his literary antagonists, cannot be supposed to have left a very agreeable impression on his mind: and he was subjected to the additional mortification of finding his work either rejected or coldly received by the Catholic princes to whom it had been presented by his ambassadors.

The violence of the controversial spirit which now prevailed, suggested a project of a singular nature. It was Dr Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, "that first brought the king," says Arthur Wilson, "to begin a new college by Chelsey, wherein the choice and ablest scholars of the kingdom, and the most pregnant wits in matters of controversies were to be associated under a provost, with a fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thousand pounds a year, whose design was to answer all Popish books, or others that vented their malignant spirit against the Protestant religion, either the heresies of the Papist, or the errors of those that struck at hier-

[n] Peremiana, p. 483.

archie, so that they should be two-edged fellows, that would make old cutting and slashing; and this he forwarded with all industry during his time; and there is yet a formal act of parliament in being for the establishment of it. But after his death the king wisely considered that nothing begets more contention than opposition, and such fuellers would be apt to inflame rather than quench the heat which would arise from those embers;---and there is only so much building standing by the Thames-side, as to shew, that what he tended to plant, should be well watered[r]."

About this time James sought another opportunity of manifesting his zeal and learning. In 1609 the professorship of divinity in the University of Leyden having become vacant by the death of Arminius, Conrad Vorstius, an honest German divine, was invited to the succession. Before he could take possession of his new office, James, who had examined two of his publications and found them to contain sceptical doctrines, made a formal remonstrance to the States General against the admission of so damnable a heretic. With his request however they were unwilling to comply: but his persecution of the harmless professor, and his insolent interference in the internal regulations of an independent republic,

[r] The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First, relating to what passed from his first Accesse to the Crown, till his Death; by Arthur Wilson, Esq. p. 53. Lond. 1653, fol.

did not terminate without a further display of his hollow zeal. He commanded the works of Vorstius to be publicly burnt at London, Oxford, and Cambridge[s]; and renewed his remonstrance with encreasing energy. Finding however that his outrageous orthodoxy was not so warmly applauded as he could have wished, he deemed it expedient to publish "A Declaration concerning the Proceedings with the States Generall of the United Provinces of the Low Covntreys, in the cause of D. Conradus Vorstivs." In this work, besides a recapitulation of his own zeal, he exhibits a catalogue of the heretical tenets of Vorstius, with the view of procuring his dismission from the professorship, to which he had been admitted in the year 1611.

Vorstius, afraid of the approaching storm, had addrest a conciliatory letter to James, in the hope of appeasing his hot indignation. He addressed another to Archbishop Abbot, and a third to Isaac Casaubon, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimacy at Geneva; entreating them to use their endeavours in moderating the persecution which their patron had commenced against him[t]. All these applications proved ineffectual. Although the States General had manifested no small reluctance in complying with the insolent

[s] King James's Workes, p. 354.

[t] Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ, p. 285, 286, 287. edit. Amst. 1684, fol.

mandates of the British monarch, his holy fervour was at length gratified. The synod of Dort suspended the professor from his functions: and he was ordered to quit the territories of Holland and West Friesland, and not to return at any future period, under pain of being treated as a disturber of the public peace[u].

The *Declaration*, which he chose to write in the French language, was published in the year 1612. For the purpose of more general circulation it was translated into Latin, English, and Dutch. With respect to the Latin version a circumstance is recorded which tends to reflect some light on the literary transactions of that period. The following passage occurs in a letter to Dr Usher from Thomas Lydiat, the learned antagonist of Joseph Scaliger: "I have sent you the king's book in Latin against Vorstius, yet scant dry from the press; which Mr Norton, who hath the matter wholly in his own hands, swore to me he would not print, unless he might have money to print it: a sufficient argument to make me content with my manuscript lying still unprinted, unless he equivocated: but see how the world is changed; time was when the best book-printers and sellers would have been glad to be beholding to the meanest book-makers. Now, Mr Norton, not long since

[u] Gualtheri de Vita et Obitu Conradi Vorstii Oratio, sig. M. 4. b. Fredericopoli, 1624, 4to.

the meanest of many book-printers and sellers, so talks and deals, as if he would make the noble King James, I may well say the best book-maker of this his own, or any kingdom under the sun, be glad to be beholding to him: any marvel therefore, if he think to make such a one as I am, his vassal? but I had rather betake myself to another occupation [v]."

In this production, the royal polemic has treated Vorstius and Arminius with a total want of Christian moderation. These men were his superiors in every intrinsic quality; and, even from a king, were entitled to humanity and respect. The character of Vorstius has been represented as free from reproach: and Sir Henry Wotton, who enjoyed the personal acquaintance of Arminius, describes him as "a man of most rare learning, of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit." Meekness was not the characteristic of James: his sublime conceptions of the divine right of kings, and of the superiority of his own attainments, rendered him arrogant and unfeeling.

"To the honovr of ovr Lord and Saviovr Jesus Christ, the eternall sonne of the eternall father, the onely διαιτητος, mediatovr, and reconciler of mankind, in signe of thankfvlnes, his most humble and most obliged servant, Iames, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France, and

[v] Usher's Letters, p. 11.

Ireland, Defender of the Faith, doeth dedicate and consecrate this his Declaration." Dedications of this kind were once in frequent use. Dr Hall has inscribed a *Passion Sermon*, preached in the year 1609, "To the onely honovr and glory of God my deare and blessed Saviovr (which hath done and suffered all these things for my sovle.)"

In the year 1614, his Majesty, willing to demonstrate his affection for each of the English universities, paid a long-expected visit to Cambridge. Here he was received by a numerous train of graduates; and, during his stay, was alternately entertained with sermons, plays, orations, poems, and disputations. A Latin comedy entitled *Ignoramus*, the production of George Ruggle, Fellow of Clare Hall, was twice performed by the academics, to the infinite delight of the king and his courtiers[w]. This drama, as it tended to expose the ignorance and arrogance of the common lawyers, and was supposed to contain particular allusions to Sir Edward Coke, was completely adapted to the royal palate. From the professors of the common law he entertained a hearty aversion; because if they discharged their duty in an intrepid and conscientious manner, his wide and unconstitutional encroachments could not be effected with that

[w] Johnston. Rerum Britannicarum Hist. p. 203.

facility at which his impetuosity aimed. Sir Edward Coke repeatedly incurred his displeasure; because he asserted in one of his parliamentary speeches, that "the king's prerogative was a great over-grown monster;" and because while he presided in the King's Bench, he even had the boldness to insinuate that the common law of England was in imminent danger of being perverted [x].

James's controversial propensity was again gratified, by the appearance of Cardinal Perron's "Harangue faite de la part de la Chambre Ecclesiastique en cette du Tiers Estat, sur l'article du Serment;" which was published at Paris in the year 1615. The cardinal, who had formerly corresponded with James, transmitted to him a copy of his oration: but this instance of politeness did not secure him from his Majesty's controversial weapons. In answer to Perron, he speedily composed, in the French language, a remonstrance for the right of kings, and the independence of their crowns. This work was soon translated into Latin and English. Perron replied in a prodigious volume of nearly one thousand pages in folio, entitled "Replique à la Response du Serenissme Roy de la Grand Bretagne." Peter du Moulin declared himself the champion of the royal author, and in due time published a huge quarto entitled "Response au Livre de M.

[x] Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, p. 95. 191.

le Cardinal du Perron, intitulé Replique à la Response," &c.

Before this period James had been occupied in refuting the learned dignitary on another occasion. In the year 1612 Perron had published a *Lettre au Sieur Casaubon*, in which he discusses some of the topics debated between the Protestant and the Romish churches. An answer was speedily published by Casaubon; who professes merely to have written what was dictated by the king.

This employment, for so admirable a scholar, was sufficiently inglorious: yet the scholar who solicits or even accepts of patronage, in its common definition, is scarcely entitled to a better fate. This excellent man seems however to have considered himself as generously treated in the country which he had chosen as the asylum of his age. Here he continued to prosecute his studies without much diminution of his former vigour: but the works in which he now engaged, proved less acceptable to the lovers of ancient literature than those which he had produced at Geneva and at Paris. It was after his arrival in Britain that he executed a part of his long-meditated plan of correcting the most material errors in the ecclesiastical annals of Baronius. In this laudable attempt he experienced the truth of the common observation, that it is less easy to arrive at excellence than to expose the deficiences of others:

for, in the opinion of competent judges, his own work is replenished with a larger proportion of errors than the stupendous production on which he animadverts. Casaubon had chiefly directed his attention to other studies; and was therefore in a great measure unprepared to contend with a writer who had spent a long life in ecclesiastical researches. These strictures on Cardinal Baronius, which he dedicated to his royal patron, excited against him a myriad of enemies. He was soon attacked in a formal manner by Heribert Rosweyd, Julius Cæsar Bullenger, and by other strenuous defenders of the Romish faith: and from this period the writers of that persuasion generally viewed him with no common antipathy or rancour. After his death, which ensued in the year 1614, he was still pursued by the malice of his enemies: productions of a contemptible or invidious nature were published in his name; and reports levelled at his moral character were circulated with industrious effrontery. His vindication was at length undertaken with becoming zeal by his son Meric Casaubon; who afterwards obtained preferment in the English church, and rose to some eminence in the republic of letters [y].

[y] Isaac Casaubon published at London the following works against the Papists: "Ad Frontonem Ducæum S. J. Theologum Epistola, in qua de Apologia disseritur, communi Jesuitarum nomine ante aliquot menses Lutetiæ Parisiorum edita." 1611, 4to. "Ad Epistolam Illustr. et Reve-

When James was on the eve of quitting his native country, he had publicly pledged himself to return at short intervals; but many years had now elapsed without the performance of his promise. In 1617 he however paid a final visit to Scotland; where he was received with demonstrations of joy which had the appearance of being sincere. The men of letters vied with each other in the extravagance of the panegyrical tributes: the Universities of Edinburgh[z] and St Andrews[a], published ample collections of the learned lumber which the loyalty of their members had accumulated; and almost every native of Scotland who could write verses in Greek, Latin, English, or Scotish, was willing to sieze so auspicious an occasion. James, attentive to the progress of literature, paid a formal visit to the ancient University of St Andrews. Here he resumed his character of moderator in the schools; and heard several theses impugned and defended

rendiss. Cardinalis Peronii Responsio." 1612, 4to. "Ad Mich. Lingelshemium Epistola de quodam Libello Scioppii." 1612, 4to. "De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi. ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales et primam eorum partem." 1614, fol.

Meric Casaubon published two works in defence of his father's moral and literary character: "Merici Casauboni Pietas contra Maledicos Patrii Nominis et Religionis Hostes." Lond. 1621, 8vo. "Vindicatio Patris adversùs Impostores quosdam." Lond. 1624, 4to.

[z] Νεῳδια· in Jacobi Regis Felicem in Scotiam Reditum Academiæ Edinburgensis Congratulatio. Edinb. 1617, 4to.

[a] Antiq. Celeber. Acad. Andreanæ Χαρισηρια in Adventum Jacobi Primi. Edinb. 1617, 4to.

by the learned members. Dr Baron, who at that period was only a beardless youth, disputed with such dexterity and knowledge, that he filled the king and the rest of the auditory with astonishment[b]. James now revived the practice of conferring academical degrees, which for some time had been discontinued by the ill-directed zeal of the Puritanical party. On the authority of a mandamus, his chaplain Dr John Young created several Doctors of Divinity; among whom were William, Forbes, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, David Lindsay, afterwards successively Bishop of Brechin and of Edinburgh, and John Strang, afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow; men who are still remembered as the authors of works connected with their sacred profession[c].

The Edinburgh professors were invited to attend their sovereign in the castle of Stirling; and, at his request, proceeded to regale him with a choice scholastic disputation. His Majesty, after they concluded, was graciously pleased to compliment them severally in a wretched string of puns upon their names. And this quibbling speech was afterwards converted into metre by four of his dutiful subjects. With the learning

[b] Clementii Præf. ad Baronii Metaphysicam.

[c] Vita Gulielmi Forbesii, sig. a. 4.—Dr Forbes and Dr Strang have already been mentioned in the course of the present work. Dr Lindsay published "A Trve Narration of all the Passages of the Proceedings in the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, holden at Perth the 25 of August, Anno Dom. 1618." Lond. 1621, 4to.

of the professors he was so highly satisfied, that he signified a desire of the college's being for the future distinguished by his own name[d]. That name it still retains: but I have not been able to discover that the institution was ever enriched by the bounty of its nominal patron. It may however be incidentally mentioned to his honour, that Sir James Ware has celebrated his munificence to the University of Dublin[e].

The partiality which he manifestly entertained for episcopacy, rendered his visit less acceptable to many of his subjects. Through the persevering energy of Andrew Melvin and other ecclesiastics of the Genevan school, presbyterianism had been sanctioned by the laws of the country: and, in the year 1590, the king had solemnly promised to adhere with inviolable fidelity to its doctrine and discipline. This promise he soon forgot. But although episcopacy had been reestablished, yet as he had not hitherto found himself able to introduce those ceremonies which he admired in the church of England, his object was only half-accomplished. During the visit which he now paid, he endeavoured, though without much success, to effect these frivolous innovations.

Although he thus attempted, by no very honourable method, to violate the ecclesiastical consti-

[d] Adamson's Muses Welcome to the Kings Majestie, p. 231. Edinb. 1618, fol.

[e] Warræus de Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, p. 97.

tution approved by the majority of the nation, yet some part of his conduct with respect to the church of Scotland is not unworthy of commendation. We are informed by Bishop Guthrie, a respectable prelate, that it was "King James's custom, when a bishopric fell void, to appoint the archbishop of St Andrews to convene the rest, and name three or four well qualified, so that there could not be an error in the choice; and then out of that list the king pitched upon one whom he preferred; whereby it came to pass, that during his time most able men were advanced, as Mr William Cowper to Galloway[f], Mr

[f] Bishop Cowper is a theologian of considerable learning. The following verses "On my Lord of Galloway his learned Commentary on the Revelation," proceeded from the pen of Drummond:

To this admir'd discoverer give place,
Ye who first tamed the sea, the winds out-ran,
And match'd the day's bright coachman in your race,
Americus, Columbus, Magellan.
It is most true that your ingenious care,
And well-spent pains, another world brought forth,
For beasts, birds, trees, for gems, and metals, rare;
Yet all being earth, was but of earthly worth.
He a more precious world to us descries,
Rich in more treasure than both Indes contain;
Fair in more beauty than man's wit can feign;
Whose sun not sets, whose people never dies.
Earth should your brows deck with still-verdant bays,
But heav'ns crown his with stars' immortal rays.

See "The Workes of Mr William Cowper, late Bishop of Galloway," p. 816. Lond. 1629, fol.

A poem of the same length, subscribed W. D. occurs among the epitaphs annexed to Godefrid vander Hagen's *Miscellanea Perusata*. Middelb. 1619, 4to.

Adam Ballantine to Dunblain, Patrick Forbes of Corse to Aberdeen, Mr David Lindsay to Brechin, and Mr John Guthry to Murray." The writer proceeds to contrast this with the conduct of his son and successor: "But King Charles followed another way, and without any consultation had with the bishops, preferred men by moyen at court[g]."

James bade adieu to Scotland in the course of the same year. On this occasion the poets again presented him with their tributes of fulsome conceit, and of more fulsome panegyric. Of the various poems and orations which had been produced in honour of his arrival and departure, a copious collection was formed by John Adamson, afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh[h].

[g] Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

[h] This collection is comprehended in a folio volume. The congratulations on his Majesty's arrival, and the lamentations for his departure, are arranged in distinct classes. Prefixed are three introductory poems by Adamson; the first in English, the second in Greek, and the third in Latin.

The Rev. John Adamson has been commemorated as one of the literary friends of Drummond; and on that account alone is entitled to our notice. He appears to have been a native of Perth. Mr Scott, the editor of Henry the Minstrel, asserts that he was the brother of Henry Adamson, and the nephew or grandson of Dr Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews. He was probably educated in the University of St Andrews; where he afterwards held the office of professor of philosophy. (Dempster. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 64.) One of John Dunbar's epigrams is addrest "Ad Joannem Adamsonum, Theolog. et olim Praeceptorem."

In the year 1616 a collective edition of his prose compositions had been published with the following title: "The Workes of the most High and Mightie Prince, James by the Grace of God King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. pvblished by Iames, Bishop of Winton, and Deane of his Maiesties Chappel Royall." This volume, which was printed at London in folio, includes all his prose works which have already been enumerated, except the discourse on Gowrie's conspiracy. It likewise contains "A Covnterblaste to Tobacco."

Adamsone, sacri sector fidissime verbi,
Et sub quo lauri gloria parta mihi;
Te monstrante viam, prisci monumenta Stagiri
Præbuerant animo se manifesta meo;
Tuque mihi placidos formasti in pectore mores;
Per te, quicquid id est quod scio, id esse scio.

DUNBARI Epigrammata, p. 72. Lond. 1616, 16to.

In this epigram Dunbar alludes to his having taken his degree under Adamson; and he elsewhere mentions the University of Edinburgh as the source of his academical honours. Adamson must therefore have taught philosophy at Edinburgh as well as at St Andrews. In 1625 he succeeded Boyd of Trochrig as Principal of the University of Edinburgh; and was himself succeeded by Dr Leighton in 1653. During the troubles of those unhappy times he attached himself to the Covenanters; but from Principal Baillie's correspondence it would appear that he did not stand very high in the confidence of that party. "As for the College of Edinburgh," says Bishop Guthrie, "there needed no pains to be taken, in regard Mr John Adamson, primer thereof, was furious enough in their cause, albeit many thought it was not from persuasion, but in policy, to eschew their wrath." (Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 63.) Adamson published several works. One of them is entitled "Dioptra Gloriæ Divinæ: seu Enarratio Psalmi xix. et in eundem Meditationes." *Edinburgi, in Academia Jacobi Regis, excud. b.t Georgius Andersonus.* 1637, 4to.

"A Discovrse of the Maner of the Discoverie of the Powder-Treason, joyned with the Examination of some of the Prisoners," and five speeches. To this volume an addition of several sheets was made in the year 1620. The supplement consists of "A Meditation vpon the Lords Prayer, written by the Kings Maiestie, for the benefit of all his subjects, especially of such as follow the court," and "A Meditation vpon the 27. 28. 29. verses of the xxvii. chapter of Saint Matthew; or a Paterne for a Kings Inavgvration." The editor, Dr Montague, has dedicated the volume to Prince Charles; and his epistle dedicatory is followed by a very long and very absurd preface.

A collection of his Majesty's works was published in Latin in the year 1619, under the superintendence of the same dutiful dean of the chapel royal[1]. It included all the productions which have now been enumerated as belonging to the English edition, except the "Paterne for a Kings Inavgvration;" and this was also added at a subsequent period. This collection also comprehends a speech delivered in the Scotish parliament in the year 1617. The history of the translation is not accurately known: but the *Monitoria Præfatio* is the only work which James is said to have written in Latin. This work, according to Dr Montague, was "written both in English and Latine by his Maiestie." His declaration against

[1] Jacobi Britanniæ Regis Opera. Lond. 1619, fol

Vorstius, and his defence of the right of kings, were originally composed in French, and with the author's permission translated into English.

He seems to have prosecuted his studies till the time of his death; but he did not live to publish any other works beside those which have already been mentioned. During his latter years he began a version of the psalms, for the use of his grandson the young prince of Bohemia [j]. This work, as we learn from his funeral sermon preached by Bishop Williams, he only continued to the thirty-first psalm [k]. Several years after his death, a complete version was published at Oxford, under the title of "The Psalmes of King David translated by King Iames [l]." Mr Ritson informs us that "in the library of St Martins parish, Westminster, is a MS. volume, containing

j Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 558.

k "Hee was in hand (when God call'd him to sing psalmes with the angels) with the translation of our church psalmes, which hee intended to haue finished and dedicated withall to the onely saint of his deuotion, the church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland. This worke was staied in the one and thirty psalme." *(Great Britains Sanctuarie: a Sermon preached at the magnificent Funerall of the most High and Mighty King Iames*, p. 42. Lond. 1625, 4to.)

l The Psalmes of King David translated by King Iames. *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.* Oxford, 1631, 12mo.—The title-page, which exhibits a fine portrait of the translator, is confronted with the following privilege: "Charles R. Hauing caused this translation of the Psalmes (whereof oure late deare father was author) to be perused, and it being found to be exactly and truely done, wee doe hereby authorize the same to be imprinted according to the patent granted thereupon, and doe allow them to be sung in all the churches of oure dominions, recommending them to all oure goode subjects for that effect."

'all the kings short poems that are not printed."

James died on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His mortal disease was a fever, which had been occasioned by an ague. His death however was by some of his subjects ascribed to a very different cause; Dr Eglisham, one of the royal physicians, publicly charged the Duke of Buckingham with the crime of having effected it by means of poison[m]. This accusation, which gained very little credit at the time, seems to have originated from the malevolence of the accuser. Dr Eglisham had formerly gratified his illiberal passions by disputing with Buchanan the superiority in Latin poetry, and by representing Vorstius as an atheist and a Mahometan. The charges which he now preferred against the duke were probably suggested by the same intellectual gloom which had bewildered him on other occasions.

King James was of a middle stature, but pos-

[m] The Fore-Runner of Revenge: being two Petitions; the one to the Kings most Excellent Majesty; the other to the most Honourable Houses of Parliament: wherein is expressed divers actions of the late Earle of Buckingham; especially concerning the death of King Iames, and the Marquesse Hamelton, supposed by poyson: also may be observed the inconveniences falling a state where the noble disposition of the prince is misled by a favourite. By George Eglisham, Doctor of Physick, and one of the Physicians to King Iames of happy memory, for his Majesties person above ten yeers space. London, 1642, 4to.—This edition of the pamphlet has an appearance of being the first: but it was "published and printed in divers languages" about the time of the king's death. (*Reliqui Wottonianæ*, p. 554.)

sest of none of those attractions which arise from external elegance; his shape was without symmetry, his deportment destitute of ease and dignity. As his legs were hardly able to support the weight of his body, he proceeded in his walk by a kind of circular motion: and his hands were in the mean time disposed in no very delicate manner. His eyes, which were remarkably large, he was accustomed to fix on strangers with a broad uninterrupted stare, which frequently compelled the more bashful to a precipitate retreat from his presence. His skin is said to have been as soft as sarsenet. He was of a ruddy complexion; his hair of a light brown colour, but towards the close of his life, interspersed with white. His beard was thinly scattered on his chin. His tongue exceeded the due proportion; a circumstance which caused him to manage his cup in a manner sufficiently disgusting. He was somewhat inclined to corpulency; but more in appearance than in reality: for his extreme timidity induced him constantly to wear a quilted doublet of stilletto-proof. The fashion of his clothes he could not be persuaded to vary: and it was not without some reluctance that he ever laid aside any of his old suits. So little subject to change was his mode of life, that one of his courtiers was wont to declare that if he himself were to awake after a sleep of seven years continuance, he would undertake to enumerate the whole of his Majesty's

occupations, and every dish which had been placed on his table, during that interval. His natural temperament is said to have disposed him to moderation in eating and drinking: but, during the last years of his life, his compliance with Buckingham's frolicsome humour frequently immersed him in riotous excess; and at an earlier period, he is known to have been engaged in scenes of low dissipation[n]. During the first visit which his brother-in-law the King of Denmark paid to Britain, the two monarchs continued the banquet with such friendly emulation, that at length they exhibited an unseemly picture of complete ebriety. James was opportunely conveyed to his bed-chamber by some of the domestics; but the royal Dane was not prevented from degrading himself by indecent carriage towards a lady of high rank. James became immoderately addicted to drinking; and his beverage was generally the strongest which could be procured. This course of life rendered him at last torpid and unwieldy: and although he still pursued the amusement of hunting, of which he was excessively fond, yet when he was trussed on horseback, he maintained his posture like a lump

[n] James seems to have derived much entertainment from the recital of drunken feats. With Peiresc, who was then residing in London, he once requested an interview for the express purpose of learning the particulars of a drinking match, in which that grave scholar had accidentally been engaged. (Gassendi *Vita Peir.* lib. p. 51. ed. Hag. Com. 1655, 4to.)

of inanimate matter. When his hat was placed on his head, he suffered it to remain in whatever position it happened to occupy.

These qualities and habits were but ill adapted to impress his subjects with any high degree of respect for his person. His intellectual and moral attainments were also of a motley kind. He was not entirely destitute of sagacity: but as his disposition was too supine for strenuous exertion, his best notions commonly evaporated in empty speculation. His conversation, which was fluent and copious, was better calculated than his actions to excite a favourable opinion of his capacity. It was the frequent expression of some cotemporary observer that King James was the wisest fool in Christendom: he was a wise man in trivial, but a fool in important affairs. The defective constitution of his mental powers rendered him an easy prey to a succession of favourites; few of whom were possest of any share of talents and virtue. On these he lavished his favours with an injudicious and unsparing hand; though in rewarding genuine merit he was sufficiently parsimonious. Dissimulation was another prominent feature of his character[o]. He is however repre-

[o] Lipsius, in an epistle written in the year 1603, has mentioned James in the following terms; "Scribunt et legatos Batavos jam appulisse, sed animi parum laetos, nec in rege hoc nimis sperantes. Quid sit in re, nescio: illud bonis auctoribus habeo, illum artificem simulandi et dissimulandi esse, i quisquam unquam fuit." (Lipsii *Epistolæ Selectæ*, cent. v. ep. xxv.)

sented as a lover of honest men, provided they discovered nothing enterprizing in their disposition: but such was his native meanness, that no man ever secured his attachment without having previously been indebted to his bounty. To the want of true generosity he added a total want of personal courage; insomuch that the mere sight of a naked sword inspired him with visible apprehension. This pusillanimity has been ascribed, and with apparent justice, to a cause antecedent to his birth; to the violent alarm which his mother experienced on witnessing, during her pregnancy, the assassination of David Rizzio. He was prone to sudden and immoderate anger; but was sufficiently prompt in atoning for any outrage which he might have committed. With the want of clemency he cannot be reproached[p]; but his clemency was often injudicious, while on the other hand his severity was equally misapplied. Few of the good actions which he happened to perform, were the genuine result of virtuous principles: passion, vanity, and prejudice, continually influenced his conduct, and exposed him to the contempt of every ingenuous mind. Although he professed the utmost zeal for religion,

[p] "Le Roy d'Angleterre est clement, horsmis à la chasse qu'il est cruel, et s'il courrouce ne pouvant attraper la beste. Dieu, dit-il, est courroucé contre moy, si est-ce que je l'auray: lors qu'il l'a, il met son bras tout entier dans le ventre et les entrailles de la beste."

SCALIGERANA, p. 116.

yet the tenor of his actions exhibited a perpetual aberration from its genuine dictates. In every vice which suited his temperament, he indulged with stupid presumption. His mode of palliating the coarse blasphemy of which he was so frequently guilty, was abundantly absurd; he expressed his conviction that as it proceeded from passion, God would not impute it to him as an offence. His heart was unsusceptible of the fine emotions of sensibility. He was capable of a violent and childish attachment to such of his courtiers as succeeded most dexterously in ministering to his hyperbolical vanity: but with those qualities which render a man estimable and interesting in the circle of domestic life, he was scantily endowed. Of natural affection he seems to have been almost entirely destitute: the misfortunes of his daughter the Queen of Bohemia could never induce him to afford any effectual succour to her husband; and the death of his consort, and that of his eldest son, were apparently regarded as events of little moment. It was indeed a prevalent opinion that the death of Prince Henry had been occasioned by poison, administered at the command of his father: and the total unconcern which was manifested by the king and his courtiers, seemed to authorize the dreadful suggestion. To James, unfeeling as he certainly was, it is not

however my intention to impute so detestable a crime[p].

The political conduct of this monarch exposed his own character to abundance of ridicule, and rendered Great Britain contemptible in the eyes of other nations[q]. Divine right perpetually presented itself to his mind, and distorted that share of judgment which nature had bestowed upon him[r]. His reign was indeed distinguished by the

[p] For the more minute particulars detailed in these paragraphs, I am principally indebted to Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of K. James*, published at London in the year 1650. The reader may also consult a tract ascribed to Dr Heylin; "*Aulicus Coquinariæ*; or a Vindication in answer to a pamphlet intituled *The Court and Character of King James*." Lond. 1650, 8vo.

Mr Dalyell has inserted a character of K. James in his *Fragments of Scotish History*. Edinb. 1798, 4to. This paper, which the editor supposes to have been communicated to Sir James Balfour by one of his friends, is a mere transcript from Weldon.

[q] Lord Bolingbroke is of opinion, "that this prince hath been the original cause of a series of misfortunes to this nation, as deplorable as a lasting infection of our air, of our water, or our earth, would have been." (*Dissertation upon Parties*, p. 15.)

[r] Oh (cry'd the goddess) for some pedant reign!
Some gentle James, to bless the land again;
To stick the doctor's chair into the throne,
Give law to words, or war with words alone,
Senates and courts with Greek and Latin rule,
And turn the council to a grammar-school!
For sure if Dulness sees a grateful day,
'Tis in the shade of arbitrary sway.
O! if my sons may learn one earthly thing,
Teach but that one, sufficient for a king;
That which my priests, and mine alone, maintain,
Which, as it dies or lives, we fall or reign;
May you, my Cam and Isis, preach it long!
"The right divine of kings to govern wrong." Pope.

preservation of uniform peace with foreign states: but his domestic transactions presented a scene of political guilt, which at length was to be so lamentably expiated by the blood of his deluded son.

His conduct as a patron of literature was equally ignoble. His treatment of Casaubon was far from being liberal. He suffered Archbishop Adamson to languish in a state of miserable penury. Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of uncommon talents, he subjected to various indignities, and at length to an ignominious death. Dominicus Baudius, who had supposed him to be possest of generosity, confessed himself miserably disappointed when he visited Britain in the expectation of being paid for the poetical compliments which he had bestowed on James and Prince Henry[s]. It may be asserted without much hazard of confutation, that his chief attachment to men of letters arose from the selfish little principle of vanity. Beneficial actions however are frequently the result of depraved motives. In various instances the *anointed pedant* promoted the cause of useful learning. It was he who assigned to Usher the task of unfolding the antiquities of the British churches[t]; a task which he was so admirably

[s] "Sed hac fine stetit omnis regia liberalitas, nec teruncio factus sum propensior, ut vel meo exemplo liquere possit, magnos terrarum dominos posse perdere, non donare."

BAUDII Epistolæ, p. 283.

[t] Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, epist. ded. Dublin. 1639, 4to.

qualified to perform[u]. According to Isaac Walton, it was for his Majesty's " sake principally 'that' Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Bedel, and others, unto King James and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made publick, both in English, and in the universal language[v]."

King James's habits of life were more truly literary than those of any other modern prince.

[u] On Archbishop Usher's excellent production Mr Pinkerton has past the following censure: " In his whole work there is a most remarkable defect of understanding. All authorities are quite alike to him Tacitus and Hector Boethius, Beda and Geofrey of Monmouth; historians, and fabulists; writers of the first century, and of the seventeenth; are all jumbled together in uniform confusion; are all quoted with equal attention, and confidence." (*Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. i. p 106.) These observations are indecent. Usher has not only displayed a vast extent and variety of erudition, but has also evinced a solid and judicious vein of criticism, and a degree of candour to which Mr Pinkerton is unfortunately a stranger. His profest object is to exhibit an ample combination of all the passages in different authors which seem to reflect any light on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Britain and Ireland. If he has occasionally quoted such writers as Geoffrey of Monmouth and Hector Boyce, it is always with a proper degree of cautious scrutiny. Nor is the examination of fabulous historians a mere work of supererogation: it enables us to ascertain how far authors of a later æra have relied on such authorities, and to what extent they have been furnished with authentic materials from sources of a different denomination.

[v] Walton's Life of S.r Henry Wotton, sig. C. 5 —Colomiés has ascribed the Latin version of Father Paul's history to Sir Adam Newton, a Scotishman who was preceptor to Prince Henry. (*Mélanges Historiques*, p. 27.) But the last two books are known to have been translated by Dr Bedell. (Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 15, 373. Lond. 1760, 8vo.)

With many of the eminent scholars which that age produced, he affected to maintain a friendly intercourse: and some of his letters to Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, and other celebrated writers, are still preserved[w]. His very meals seem to have been seasoned with learning[x]. But it must also be recollected that the king and the scholar were often transfigurated into a low buffoon: his relaxations were for the most part of a vulgar kind, and in many instances were utterly despicable. Sir Anthony Welden, who writes

[w] A Latin epistle from K. James to Casaubon is prefixed to the collection of Casaubon's *Epistolæ*. Hag. Com. 1638, 4to. This epistle and another addrest to Marcus Antonius de Dominis may also be found in a little book published by Thomas Wykes under the title of "Βασιλικα Δωρα, sive Syllogæ Epistolarum, Orationum, et Carminum Regalium, quæ quos Britanniæ Monarchas Authores, quos etiam Editores antehac habuerint, inspicienti statim constabit." Lond. 1640, 8vo. James is said to have written several letters to Casaubon. (*M. Casauboni Pietas*, p. 10.) Another of his epistles occurs among the "Epistres Françoises des Personnages Illustres et Doctes a M. Joseph Juste de la Scala; mises en lumiere par Jaques de Reves." A Harderwyck, 1624, 8vo. He subscribes himself "vostre tres-affectionné amy." When Scaliger visited Scotland, he probably became acquainted with the king.

In the Advocates Library is a folio MS. entitled *Minutes from Learned Men and State Papers to K. Ja. 6.* This curious collection was probably formed by Sir James Balfour, in whose possession it is known to have been. (Sibbaldi *Memoria Balfourianæ*, p. 33.) The volume contains autographs of Charles the First, I. Casaubon, M. Casaubon, W. Barclay, A. Melvin, M. A. de Dominis, and other men of eminence. Besides letters to K. James, it includes various papers of a miscellaneous kind; and, among others, a narrative of the death of M. A. de Dominis.

[x] "Mox ut ad Serenissimum Regem accessi, inveni ipsum illam ipsam Apologiam inter epulas legentem."

CASAUBONI Exercitationes ad Baronium, p. 44

from personal observation, presents us with a curious sketch of the elegant amusements which prevailed at court after Villiers began to eclipse the other favourites: "Then began the king to eat abroad, who formerly used to eat in his bedchamber, or if by chance supped in his bedchamber, would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries; in which Sir Ed. Souch, Sir George Goring, and Sir John Finit, were the chief and master fools, and surely this fooling got them more then any other's wisdom, far above them in desert: Souch his part to sing bawdy songs, and tell bawdy tales; Finit to compose these songs; then were a set of fidlers brought up on purpose for this fooling, and Goring was master of the game for fooleries; sometimes presenting David Droman, and Archer Armstrong, the king's fool, on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the ears; sometimes antick dances; but Sir John Millisert, who was never known before, was commended for notable fooling, and sow as the best extemporary fool of them all[y]." The king's love of any thing that resembled wit or humour seems to have been excessive. The following anecdote exhibits his character in a more favourable point of view. "Some years since," says Howell, "there was a very abusive satire in verse brought to our king;

[y] Weldon's Court and Character of K. James, p. 91. edit. Lond. 1689, 8vo.

and as the passages were a reading before him he often said, That if there were no more men in England, the rogue should hang for it: at last being come to the conclusion, which was (after all his railing)

> Now God preserve the king, the queen, the peers,
> And grant the author long may wear his ears;

this pleased his Majesty so well, that he broke into a laughter, and said, 'By my sol! so thou shalt for me: thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave[z].'"

If the literary attainments of King James are to be estimated from the panegyrics of cotemporary writers, he must be regarded as a scholar of the first magnitude. He has been mentioned in terms of the highest applause by authors of almost every learned nation: and several of his encomiasts maintained a preëminent rank in the republic of letters; for among their number we discover the names of Grotius, Bacon[a], and Casaubon. But the honours which he obtained from his cotemporaries have not been perpetuated by the sanction of impartial posterity: the dead

[z] Howell's Familiar Letters, p. 73.

[a] Lord Bacon has past a high encomium on the Βασιλικον Δωρον. (*Of the Advancement of Learning*, p. 250.) Sir Henry Savile, in his dedication of St Chrysostom to K. James, has extolled the same composition as superior to any similar work which had then been produced.

author cannot participate the splendours of the living monarch; and his character being now deprived of adventitious support, will not be found possest of much intrinsic dignity. His share of acquired knowledge was not however so inconsiderable as it has sometimes been represented: under the tuition of Buchanan and Young[b] he undoubtedly imbibed the rudiments of classical learning with sufficient felicity; and his multifarious productions display a pretty extensive acquaintance with the favourite authors of that age of pedantry. The style of his prose compositions, if we consider the complexion of the general taste, will not be pronounced contemptible.

The censure which has lately been past on his poetical works may be regarded as too severe. They do not indeed evince any unusual vigour of imagination or elegance of taste: but they are not entirely destitute of fancy; and the versification frequently rises above mediocrity. Fine writing however cannot be produced without the aid of good sense.

This department of his works comprehends "The Lepanto," "Phœnix," "The twelf Sonnets of Inuocations to the Goddis," "The Furies," translated from Du Bartas, "The Vranie, or Heavenly Mvse," translated from the same

[b] An account of the life and character of Sir Peter Young may be found in Dr Thomas Smith's *Vitæ quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrium Virorum*. Lond. 1707, 4to.

author, "A Paraphrasticall Translation ovt of the poete Lvcane," a version of several of the psalms, and various little poems of a miscellaneous kind.

The Lepanto is a poem of considerable length, written in celebration of the famous victory gained by the Christians over the Turks. For the benefit of foreigners, a Latin translation was published by Thomas Murray in the year 1604.

The poem entitled *Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix* may perhaps be considered as his most serious effort. This metaphorical invention I confess myself unable to explain. The allegory has been supposed to exhibit an adumbration of the accomplishments and misfortunes of his royal mother: but this notion will not perhaps be found altogether satisfactory. In the *Phœnix* some traces of a poetical invention may undoubtedly be discovered: and it ought to be recollected that the volume in which it appears was published when the author was only about eighteen years of age. It commences with the following stanzas:

The dyuers falls that Fortune geuis to men
By turning ouer her quhe l: to t: eir annoy,
When I do heare them grudge, although they ken
That old blind dame delytes to let the ioy
Of all, suche is her vse, which dois c: nuoy
Her quheill by gess, not loo..ing to the right,
Bot still turnis vp that pairt quhilk is too light

Thus quhen I hard so many did complaine,
  Some for the losse of worldly wealth and geir,
Some death of frends, quho can not come againe,
  Some losse of health, which vnto all is deir,
  Some losse of fame, which still with it dois beir
Ane greif to them who mereits it indeid:
Yet for all thir appearis there some remeid.

For as to geir, lyke chance as made you want it,
  Restore you may the same againe or mair.
For death of frends, although the same, I grant it,
  Can noght returne, yet men are not so rair.
  Bot ye may get the lyke. For seiknes sair
Your health may come: or to ane better place
Ye must. For fame, good deids will mend disgrace.

Then fra I saw, as I already told,
  How men complaind for things whilk might amend;
How DAUID LINDSAY did complaine of old
  His papingo, her death, and sudden end,
  Ane common foule whose kinde be all is kend;
All these hes moved me presently to tell
Ane tragedie, in griefs thir to excell.

For I complaine not of sic common cace,
  Which diuersly by diuers means dois fall;
But I lament my phœnix rare, whose race,
  Whose kynde, whose kin, whose offspring, they be all
  In hir alone whome I the phœnix call;
That fowle which only at onis did liue,
Not liues, alas! though I her wise reviue.

In Arabie cald Fœlix was she bredd,
This foule excelling Iris farr in hew;
Whose body whole with purpour was owercledd,
Whose taill of coulour was celestiall blew,
With skarlat pennis that through it mixed grew;
Her craig was like the yallowe burnisht gold;
And she her self thre hundreth yeare was old.

This mysterious fowl abandons Arabia Fœlix, and at length arrives in Scotland.

Ilk man did maruell at her forme most rare.
The winter came and storms cled all the feild;
Which storms the land of fruit and corne made bare:
Then did she flie into an house for beild,
Which from the storms might saue her as an sheild.
There in that house she first began to tame:
I came, syne tooke her furth out of the same.---

Thus being tamed and thoroughly weill acquent,
She toke delyte, as she was wount before,
What tyme that Titan with his beames vpsprent,
To take her flight, amongs the skyes to soire.
Then came to her of fowlis a woundrous store
Of diuers kinds; some simple fowlis, some ill
And rauening fowlis whilks simple onis did kill.

And euen as they do swarme about their king
The hunnie bees, that works into the hyue:
When he delyts furth of the skepps to spring,
Then all the leaue will follow him belyue,
Syne to be nixt him bisselie they striue:
So all thir fowlis did followe her with beir;
For loue of her, alis rauening did no deir.

Such was the loue and reuerence they her bure,
  Ilk day whill euen, ay whill they shedd at night.
Fra time it darkned, I was euer sure
  Of her returne, remaining whill the light,
  And Phœbus rysing with his garland bright:
Such was her trueth, fra time that she was tame,
She who in brightnes Titans self did shame.

By vse of this, and hanting it, at last
  She made the foules, fra time that I went out,
Aboue my head to flie, and follow fast
  Her, who was chief and leader of the rout.
  When it grew lait, she made them flie, but doubt
Or feare, euen in the closse with her of will;
Syne she her self perkt in my chalmer still.

When as the countreys round about did heare
  Of this her byding in this countrey cold,
Which not but hills and darknes ay dois beare,
  And for this cause was Scotia calld of old;
  Her lyking here when it was to them told,
And how she greind not to go backe againe,
The loue they bure her, turnd into disdaine.

Lo here the fruicts whilks of Inuy dois breid,
  To harme them all who vertue dois imbrace:
Lo here the fruicts from her whilks dois proceid,
  To harme them all that be in better cace
  Then others be. So followed they the trace
Of proud Inuy thir countreyis lying neir,
That such a foule should lyke to tary heir.---

Fra malice thus was rooted be Inuy,
In them as sone the awin effects did shaw :
Which made them syne vpon ane day to spy
And wait till that, as she was wount, she flaw
Athort the skyes, syne did they neir her draw
Among the other fowlis of dyuers kynds,
Although they ware farr dissonant in mynds.

For where as they ware wount her to obey,
Their mynde farr contrair then did plaine appeare :
For then they made her as a commoun prey
Tó them, of whome she looked for no deare ;
They strake at her so bitterly, whill feare
Stayde other fowlis to preis for to defend her
From thir ingrate, whilks now had clene miskend her.

When she could finde none other saue refuge
From these their bitter straiks, she fled at last
To me, as if she wolde wishe me to iudge
The wrong they did her ; yet they followed fast
Till she betuix my leggs her selfe did cast,
For sauing her from these which her opprest,
Whose hote pursute her suffred not to rest.

Bot yet at all that servd not for remeid,
Far noghttheles they spaird her not a haire.
In stede of her, yea whyles they made to bleid
My leggs, (so grew their malice mair and mair ;)
Which made her both to rage and to dispair ;
First, that but cause they did her such dishort ;
Nixt, that she laked help in any sort.

Then hauing tane ane dry and wethered stra,
In deip dispair and in ane lofty rage
She sprang vp heigh, outfleing euery fa;
Syne to Panchaia came, to change her age
Vpon Apollos altar, to asswage
With outward fyre her inward raging fyre;
Which then was all her cheif and whole desyre.

Then being carefull the event to know
Of her who homeward had returnde againe
Where she was bred, where storms dois neuer blow,
Nor bitter blasts, nor winter snows, nor raine,
But sommer still;—that countray doeth so staine
All realmes in fairnes; there in haste I sent,
Of her to know the yssew and event.

The messenger returns and communicates the sequel of her history, but not in very poetical terms. The conclusion, or *L'envoy*, instead of unveiling the allegory, only serves to involve it in new obscurity:

Apollo then, who brunt with thy reflex
Thine onely fowle, through loue that thou her bure,
Although thy fowle, (whose name doeth end in X)
Thy burning heat on nowayes could indure,
But brunt thereby; yet will I thé procure,
Late foe to phœnix, now her freind to be,
Reuiuing her by that which made her die.

Draw farr from heir, mount heigh vp through the air,
To gar thy heat and beames be law and neir;
That in this countrey, which is cold and bair,
Thy glistring beames als ardent may appeir
As they were oft in Arabie: so heir
Let them be now, to mak ane phœnix new
Euen of this worme of phœnix ashe which grew.

This if thow dois, as sure I hope thou shall,
My tragedie a comike end will haue:
Thy work thou hath begun, to end it all;
Else made ane worme, to make her out the laue.
This epitaphe then beis on phœnix graue:
"Here lyeth whom too euen be her death and end
Apollo hath a longer lyfe her send."

James's translation of the *Uranie, ou Muse Celeste*, of Du Bartas, entitles him to considerable praise as a versifier: his couplets approach much nearer to the elegance and compression of modern English poetry than could have been expected from a young Scotish writer of the sixteenth century. Of this respectable version it will be proper to transcribe a brief specimen:

Scarce was I yet in springtyme of my years,
When greening great for fame aboue my peirs
Did make me lose my wonted chere and rest,
Essaying learned works with curious brest.
But as the pilgrim, who for lack of light,
Cumd on the parting of two wayes at night,
He stayes assone and in his mynde doeth cast
What way to take while moonlight yet doth last;

So I amongst the paths vpon that hill
Where Phœbus crowns all verses euer still
Of endles praise, with laurers always grene,
Did stay confusde, in doubt what way to mene.
I whyles essaide the Greee in Frenche to praise,
Whyles in that toung I gaue a lusty glaise
For to descryue the Troian kings of olde,
And them that Thebes and Mycens crowns did holde:
And whiles I had the storye of Fraunce elected,
Which to the Muses I should haue directed:
My holy furie, with consent of nane,
Made Frenche the Mein, and nowyse Dutche the Sein.
Whiles thought I to set foorth with flattring pen
The praise vntrewe of kings and noble men;
And that I might both golde and honours haue,
With courage basse I made my Muse a slaue.
And whyles I thought to sing the fickle boy
Of Cypris soft, and loues tó-swete anoy,
To lofty sprits that any therewith made blynd;
To which discours my nature and age inclynd.
But whill I was in doubt what way to go,
With wind ambitious tossed to and fro,
A holy beuty did to mee appeare,
The thundrers daughter seeming as she weare:
Her porte was angellike, with angels face,
With comely shape, and toung of heauenly grace;
Her nynevoiced mouth resembled into sound
The daunce harmonious making heauen resound.

The subsequent passage may even boast of somewhat of the enthusiasm of genuine poetry:

So Hesiod, Line, and he whose lute, they say,
Made rocks and forrests come to heare him play,

Durst well their heauenly secrets all discloes
In learned verse that softly slydes and goes.
O ye that wolde your browes with laurel bind,
What larger feild I pray you can you find,
Then is his praise who brydles heauens most cleare,
Maks mountaines tremble, and howest hells to feare;
That is a horne of plenty well repleat,
That is a storehouse riche, a learning seat;
An ocean hudge, both lacking shore and ground,
Of heauenly eloquence a spring profound?
From subiects base a base discours dois spring,
A lofty subiect of it selfe doeth bring
Graue words and weghtie, of it selfe diuine,
And makes the authors holy honour shine.

In this translation he confesses that he has not rigidly adhered to the rules which he has himself proposed in his treatise on Scotish poetry; and he suggests several apologetic reasons for his deviation: "I must also desire you to bear with it, albeit it be replete with innumerable and intolerable faultes; sic as ryming in tearmes, and dyuers others whilkis ar forbidden in my owne treatise of the arte of poësie, in the hinder end of this booke; I must, I say, praye you for to appardone mee for three causes. First, because that translations ar limitat and restraind in some things more then free inuentions are: therefore reasoun would that it had more libertie in others. Secoundlie, because I made noght my treatise of that intention that eyther I or any others behoued astricktly to follow it; but that onely it should shew the perfection of poësie,

whereunto fewe or none can attaine. Thirdlye, because that (as I shewe alreadye) I avowe it not for a iust translation. Besydes that I haue but ten feete in my lyne, where he hath twelue, and yet translates him lyne by lyne."

Two of his Majesty's sonnets have already been quoted. The following is a *Sonnet decifring the Perfyte Poete:*

Ane rype ingyne, ane quick and walkned witt,
With sommair reasons suddenlie applyit;
For euery purpose vsing reasons fitt,
With skilfulnes, where learning may be spyit;
With pithie wordis, for to expres zow by it
His full intention in his proper leid,
The puritie quhairof weill hes he tryit;
With memorie to keip quhat he dois reid;
With skilfulnes and figuris quhilks proceid
From rhetorique; with euerlasting fame,
With vthers woundring, preassing with all speid
For to atteine to merite sic a name;
All thir into the perfyte poëte be.
Goddis grant I may obteine the laurell trie.

The sonnet which he has prefixed to the Βασιλικον Δωρον contains some tolerably sonorous lines:

God giues not kings the stile of gods in vaine,
For on his throne his scepter doe they swey:
And as their subiects ought them to obey,
So kings should feare and serue their God againe.
If then ye would enioy a happie raigne,

Observe the statutes of your heauenly king,
And from his law make all your lawes to spring:
Since his lieutenant here ye should remaine,
Reward the iust, be stedfast, true, and plaine,
Represse the proud, maintayning aye the right,
Walke alwayes so as euer in his sight
Who guardes the godly, plaguing the prophane:
And so ye shall in princely vertues shine,
Resembling right your mightie king diuine.

It has already been hinted that the genuineness of the complete version of the psalms which bears his name, is somewhat doubtful. According to Bishop Williams, "this worke was staied in the one and thirty psalme." King James has not executed his task with much felicity: but this is a task in which poets of unquestionable talents have often failed. As a specimen of his version, I shall transcribe the twenty-seventh psalm:

The Lord my light and safety is,
How can I frighted be?
The Lord is of my life the strength,
And who can trouble me?

When wicked foes, to eat my flesh,
Against me warre did make,
They straight did stumble and fell downe,
A prey for me to take.

Though even an hoast against me pitch,
No feare can taint my brest;
Though roaring warre against me rise,
In this secure I rest.

This one thing aske I from the Lord,
And earnestly request,
That all the dayes I haue to liue,
I in his house may rest;

There to contemplate and behold
The beauty of the Lord;
And in his temple to enquire,
According to thy word.

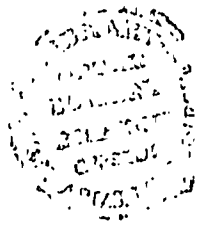
For his pavilion mee shall hide
When trouble doth molest:
His tents derne part it shall mee hide;
He makes a rocke my rest.

He shall aboue my foes about
My head with glorie raise:
I in his tabernacle glad
Shall offer, sing, and praise.

Heare me, O Lord, when with my voice
I call aloud to thee:
Thy gratious favour then extend,
And yeeld thine eare to mee.

When in thy presence to repaire
Thou will'd mee by thy grace,
My ravish'd heart did answer, Lord,
Lord, I will seeke thy face.

Hide not thy face, nor put away
Thy servant in thine yre:
Thou hast me help'd, my safeties God;
Doe not from mee retire.



My father and my mother both
Though they doe mee forsake,
Yet thou, O Lord, even thou of mee
Wilt the protection take.

Teach thou, O Lord, thy way to mee,
And guide mee by thy grace
A straight plaine path; because of foes
That all my steps doe trace.

To satisfie my foes desires,
Doe not deliver mee:
False witnesses with malice rise,
And cruelties decree.

I fainted had, but that I hop'd
Thy goodnesse to enjoy,
Even in the land of them that liue
As yet design'd for joy.

Doe thou vpon the Lord attend
With courage alwaies stor'd;
For he will fortifie thy heart:
Wait therefore on the Lord.

King James must also be commemorated as the only Scotish author who has published any critical work in his native language. The volume entitled "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie," includes "Ane Schort Treatise, conteining some Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie." This volume was published in the year 1584. The first book of criticism written in the English language

appeared at a considerably earlier period: *The Arte of Rhetorike* by Thomas Wilson, LL.D. was published in the year 1553 [b]. This composition of the royal author, if we consider the novelty of the attempt, and the juvenile age at which it was produced, must certainly be regarded as no contemptible performance.

It consists of eight short chapters; in which he treats of "the reulis of ryming, fete, and flowing, and of the wordis, sentences, and phrasis necessair for a poete to vse in his verse." The last chapter exhibits specimens of "the kyndis of versis for lang historeis; for the descriptioun of heroique actis, martiall and knightly faittis of armes; for any heich and graue suiectis, specially drawin out of learnit authouris; for tragicall materis, complaintis, or testamentis; for flyting or inuectiues; for compendious praysing of any bukes, or the authouris thairof, or ony argumentis of vther historeis quhair sindrie sentences and change of purposis are requyrit; and for materis of loue." Several of these specimens are borrowed from the works of Montgomery; who about that period appears to have been a favourite court-poet.

The preface is worthy of transcription: "The cause why, docile reader, I haue not dedicat this

b The Arte of Rhetorike, for the vse of all soche as are studious of Eloquence, sette forth in Engli he by Thomas Wilson 1553, and now newlie sette foorthe againe, with a Prologue to the reader. Lond. 1563, 4to.

short treatise to any particular personis, as commounly workis vsis to be, is that I esteme all thais quha hes already some beginning of knawledge with ane earnest desyre to atteyne to farther, alyke meit for the reading of this worke, or any vther quhilk may help thame to the atteining to thair foirsaid desyre. Bot as to this work, quhilk is intitulit *The Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, ze may maruell peraventure quhairfore I sould haue writtin in that mater, sen sa mony learnit men, baith of auld and of late, hes already written thairof in dyuers and sindry languages: I answer that nochtwithstanding, I haue lykewayis writtin of it, for twa caussis. The ane is, as for them that wrait of auld, lyke as the tyme is changeit sensyne, sa is the ordour of poesie changeit. For then they obseruit not flowing, nor eschewit not ryming in termes, besydes sindrie vther thingis quhilk now we obserue and eschew, and dois weil in sa doing; because that now quhen the warld is waxit auld, we haue all their opinionis in writ quhilk were learned before our tyme, besydes our awin ingynis, quhair as they then did it onlie be thair awin ingynis but help of any vther. Thairfore quhat I speik of poesie now, I speik of it as being come to mannis age and perfectioun, quhair as then it was bot in the infancie and chyldheid. The vther cause is, that as for thame that hes written in it of late, there hes neuer

ane of thame written in our language. For albeit sindrie hes written of it in English, quhilk is lykest to our language, zit we differ from thame in sindrie reulis of poesie, as ze will find be experience. I haue lykewayis omittit dyuers figures quhilkis are necessare to be vsit in verse, for twa causis. The ane is, because they are vsit in all languages, and thairfore are spokin of be Du Bellay, and sindrie vtheris quha hes written in this airt. Quhairfore gif I wrait of thame also, it sould seme that I did bot repete that quhilk thay haue written, and zit not sa weil as thay haue done already. The vther cause is that they are figures of rhetorique and dialectique, quhilkis airtis I professe nocht, and thairfore will apply to my selfe the counsale quhilk Apelles gaue to the shoomaker, quhen he said to him, seing him find falt with the shankis of the image of Venus efter that he had found falt with the pantoun, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

" I will also wish zow, docile reidar, that or ze cummer zow with reiding thir reulis, ze may find in zour self sic a beginning of nature, as ze may put in practise in zour verse many of thir foirsaidis preceptis or euer ze sie them as they are heir set doun. For gif nature be nocht the cheif worker in this airt, reulis wilbe bot a band to nature, and will mak zow within short space weary of the haill airt; quhair as gif nature be cheif and bent to it, reulis will be ane help and

staff to nature. I will end heir, lest my preface be langer nor my purpose and haill mater following; wishing zow, docile reidar, als gude succes and great proffeit by reiding this short treatise, as I tuke earnnist and willing panis to blok it, as ze sie, for zour cause. Fare weill."

The following extract exhibits a specimen of his Majesty's critical vein: "Ze man be war likewayis (except necessitie compell yow) with ryming in termis, quhilk is to say, that your first or hinmest word in the lyne exceid not twa or thre syllabis at the maist, vsing thrie als seindill as ye can. The cause quhairfore ze sall not place a lang word first in the lyne, is that all lang words hes an syllabe in them sa verie lang, as the lenth thairof eatis vp in the pronouncing euin the vther syllabes quhilks ar placit lang in the same word, and thairfore spillis the flowing of that lyne. As for exemple, in this word, *Arabia*, the second syllabe (*ra*) is sa lang that it eatis vp in the pronouncing [*a*] quhilk is the hinmest syllabe of the same word. Quhilk [*a*] althocht it be in a lang place, zit it kythis not sa, because of the great lenth of the preceding syllabe (*ra*). As to the cause quhy ze sall not put a lang word hynmest in the lyne, it is because that the lenth of the secound syllabe (*ra*) eating vp the lenth of the vther lang syllabe [*a*], makis it to serue but as a tayle vnto it, together with the short syllabe preceding. And because this tayle nather seruis

for cullour nor fute, as I spak before, it man be thairfore repetit in the nixt lyne ryming vnto it, as it is set doune in the first: quhilk makis, that ze will scarcely get many wordis to ryme vnto it, zea, nane at all will ze finde to ryme to sindrie vther langer wordis. Thairfore cheifly be warre of inserting sic lang wordis hinmest in the lyne, for the cause quhilk I last allegit. Besydis that nather first nor last in the lyne, it keipis na flowing."

An entire transcript of the sixth chapter shall close our specimens of King James's poetry and criticism: "Ze man also be warre with composing ony thing in the same maner as hes bene ower oft vsit of before. As in speciall, gif ze speik of loue, be warre ze descryue zour loues makdome or her fairnes. And siclyke that ze descryue not the morning, and rysing of the sunne, in the preface of zour verse: for thir thingis are sa oft and dyuerslie writtin vpon be poëtis already, that gif ze do the lyke, it will appeare ze bot imitate, and that it cummis not of zour awin inventioun, quhilk is ane of the cheif properteis of ane poete. Thairfore gif zour subiect be to prayse zour loue, ze sall rather prayse hir vther qualiteis nor her fairnes or hir shaip: or ellis ze sall speik some lytill thing of it, and syne say that zour wittis are sa smal and zour vtterance sa barren, that ze can not discryue any part of hir worthelie; remitting alwayis to

the reider to iudge of hir, in respect sho matches or rather excellis Venus, or any woman quhome to it sall please zow to compaire her. Bot gif zour suiect be sic as ze man speik some thing of the morning or sunne rysing, tak heid that quhat name ze giue to the sunne, the mone, or vther starris, the ane tyme, gif ze happin to wryte thairof another tyme, to change thair names. As gif ze call the sunne Titan at a tyme, to call him Phœbus or Apollo the vther tyme, and siclyke the mone and vther planettis."

INTERMEDIATE SKETCHES.

DURING the reign of King James appeared a multitude of poets who cultivated the Scotish, English, and Latin languages [a]. Of those who

[a] To Mr Pinkerton's catalogue of our English versifiers who appeared in the course of the seventeenth century, many names might be added. I shall here introduce supplementary notices relative to Graham and Fairley.

Simon Graham, the descendant of a respectable family, was born in Edinburgh; but at what particular period, is uncertain. (Dempster, *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 328.) In his dedication of *The Anatomie of Homer* to the Earl of Montrose, he speaks of himself as a soldier and a traveller: "My perigrinations enlarged my curiositie, my souldier's estate promised to preferre me, and the smiles of court stuffed my braines with manie idle suppositions." He was, says Urquhart, "a great traveller and very good scholar, as doth appear by many books of his emission; but being otherways too licentious, and given over to all manner of debordings, the most of the praise I will give him, will be to excuse him in these terms of Aristotle: 'Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ." (Urquhart's *Jewel*, p. 122.) It is probable that he at length became more sedate in his deportment; for Dempster relates that by the instigation of the Holy Spirit, he assumed the habit of St. Francis. The same writer informs us, that, as he was returning towards his native country in 1614, he died at Carpentras. According to Dempster and Urquhart,

wrote in their native tongue, few have displayed any considerable portion of genius: the most poetical versifier of that period was undoubtedly Montgomery; who did not however possess talents of the first order.

THOMAS HUDSON may be mentioned as a versifier of some merit. He appears to have cultivated Scotish poetry; but his most considerable work is an English translation of Du Bartas's poem on the subject of Judith[b]. This version,

his publications were numerous; but I have only been able to trace the following: "The Passionate Sparke of a Relenting Minde." Lond. 1604, 4to. "The Anatomie of Hvmors." Edinb. 1609, 4to. The former of these works is a collection of poems; the latter, which consists of prose interspersed with verse, may possibly have suggested the original hint of Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," a well-known production, first printed at Oxford in quarto in the year 1621.

Robert Fairley, who styles himself *Scoto-Britannus*, published several poetical works of an indifferent character. He is the author of a Latin poem entitled "Naulogia, sive Inventa Navis." Lond. *Sine anni indicio.* 4to. It is inscribed in prose and verse to Sir Robert Aytoun. He also published "*Kalendarium Humanæ Vitæ*: the Kalender of Mans Life." Lond. 1638, 8vo. This work consists of poems on the four seasons. His other publication bears the title of "*Lychnocausia, sive Moralia Facum Emblemata*: Lights Morall Emblems." Lond. 1638, 8vo. This volume, as well as the last, exhibits each poem in Latin and in English. The emblem was about that period a favourite species of composition: it had been recommended by the example of Beza and other ingenious poets; and in Britain it had been attempted by Francis Quarles with a degree of applause which certainly exceeded his intrinsic desert.

b The Historie of Iudith, in forme of a Poeme; penned in French by the noble poet G. Salust, Lord of Bartas: Englished by Tho. Hudson. Edinb. 1584, 8vo.

which was published in the year 1584, is generally known as an appendage to that of Joshua Sylvester. From the dedication of his work to King James it appears that Hudson was of the royal household; that he undertook the translation at his Majesty's request; and that the king corrected it with his own hand. Hudson boasts, like his royal patron, that in the number of his verses he has not exceeded the original composition.

Robert Hudson has already been commemorated as a court-poet. To him several of Montgomery's sonnets are addrest; and in one of them he is celebrated in magnificent terms:

> Thy Homer's style, thy Petrark's high invent,
> Sall vanquish Death, and live eternally,
> Quhais boasting bou, thoght it be alwayis bent,
> Sall never hurt the sone of Memorie.

Hudson appears to have been a man of some influence; for Montgomery requests him to whisper his misfortunes in the ear of royalty. His works, with the exception of one or two sonnets, have all perished. The following sonnet, in celebration of King James's poetical talents, is by no means despicable:

The glorious Grekis in stately style do blaise
The lawde the conqurour gaue their Homer olde
The verses Cæsar song in Maroes praise
The Romanis in remembrance depe haue rolde.
Ye Thespian nymphes, that suppe the nectar colde
That from Parnassis forked topp doth fall,
What Alexander or Augustus bolde
May sound his fame whose vertewes pass them all?
O Phœbus, for thy help heir might I call,
And on Minerue and Maias learned sonne:
But since I know, none was, none is, nor shall,
Can rightly ring the fame that he hath wonne,
They stay your trauels, lay your pennis adowne,
For Cæsars works shall iustly Cæsar crowne[c].

Christian Lindsay seems to be represented by one of his cotemporaries as a poet of some distinction: the following lines occur in a sonnet of Montgomery addrest to Robert Hudson:

Ye knaw ill guyding genders mony gees,
And specially in poets: for example
Ye can pen out twa cuple and ye pleis,
Yourself and I, auld Scot and Robert Semple.
Quhen we ar deid, that all our dayis daffis,
Let Christen Lyndesay wryt our epitaphis.

[c] K. James's Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie. Edinb. 1584, 4to.—This sonnet is subscribed R. H. A sonnet by R. Hudson may be found in Mr Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*, vol. ii. p. 351. and another in a collection entitled *Scotish Descriptive Poems*, p. 231. A sonnet subscribed T. H. is also prefixed to this work of K. James. Another by T. Hudson is prefixed to Fowler's manuscript translation from Petrarch; and a third occurs in Mr Pinkerton's collection, vol. ii. p. 350.

The only composition of Lindsay which has been preserved is a spirited sonnet addrest to Hudson [d].

WILLIAM FOWLER flourished about the year 1587. Two manuscript volumes of his poems are among the books presented by Drummond to the University of Edinburgh. In the title-page of one of them he is styled "P. of Hawicke;" that is Parson or Rector of Hawick. This volume is entitled *The Tarantula of Love*; and comprehends a series of sonnets on the Italian model. The other manuscript is a translation of the triumphs of Petrarch [e]. Specimens of both these productions may be found in a late injudicious collection [f]. Their merit is far from being extraordinary. Fowler however may once have been a poet of some note: King James has written a commendatory sonnet on his translation, in return for one which Fowler wrote in praise of *The Furies*.

JOHN BUREL, burgess of Edinburgh, is the author of two insipid poems published in Wat-

[d] See the Life of Montgomery, p. 187.

[e] An English translation of the same work was published by Anna Hume. See "The Triumphs of Love, Chastitie, Death; translated out of Petrarch by M[rs] Anna Hume." Edinb. 1644, 8vo.

[f] Scotish Descriptive Poems. Edinb. 1803, 8vo.

son's collection. The one is entitled " The Passage of the P lgrem. ;" the other, " The Description of the Queens Majesties maist honorable Entry into the Town of Edinburgh upon the 19th day of May, 1590." The last of these poems has been reprinted by Sibbald [g].

JOHN ROLLAND of Dalkeith is the author of two metrical works of a similar character. One of them bears the title of " Ane Treatise callit the *Court of Venus*, dividit into four buikis [h]." The other is entitled " The Sevin Seages; translatit out of prois into Scottis meiter; with ane moralitie aftir everie doctour's tale, and siklyke after the emprice tale; togidder w.th ane ·ving and lawd to every doctour aftir his awin tale; and an exclamatioun and outcrying upon the emperour's wyfe aftir hir fals contrused tale [i]."

ALEXANDER HUME, Rector of Logie, was the second son of Patrick laird of Polwarth, from whom the present family of Marchmont is lineally descended. From the " Epistle to Maister Gilbert Mont-creif, Medicíner to the King's

[g] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 465.

[h] Edinburgh, 1575, 4to.

[i] Edinburgh, 1592, 8vo.

[j] " Lors que mon frere fut en Escosse," says Joseph Scaliger, " il n'y avoit qu'un medecin, qui estoit medecin de la reyne; et de mon temps

Majestie, wherein is set down the Inexperience of Author's Youth," it appears that he was destined for the bar, and that being disgusted with the profession of a lawyer, he afterwards endeavoured without success to obtain preferment at court. The following extract from his epistle contains some curious information :

Quhen that I had employd my youth and paine
Four years in France, and was returnd againe,
I langd to learn and curious was to knaw
The consuetudes, the custome, and the law,
Quhairby our native soil was guide aright,
And justice done to everie kind of wight.
To that effect three yeares, or near that space,
I hanted maist our highest pleading place,
And senate, quhair great causes reasoned war;
My breast was bruisit with leaning on the bar;
My buttons brist, I partly spitted blood,
My gown was traild and trampid quhair I stood;
My ears war deifd with maissars cryes and din,
Quhilk procutoris and parties callit in.
I daylie learnit, bot could not pleisit be;
I saw sik things as pitie was to see;
Ane house owerlaid with process sa misguidit,
That sum tó late, sum never war decydit;
The puir abusit ane hundreth divers wayes,
Postpond, differd with shifts and mere delayes,
Consumit in gudes, ourset with greif and paine:
Your advocate maun be refresht with gaine,

en Angleterre il n'y avoit gueres de medecins. En Escosse un menuisier saignoit, et il y avoit des barbiers qui tondoient seulement." (Sulf. Travail, p. 223.)

Or else he faints to speake or to invent
Ane gude defence, or weightie argument.
Ye spill your cause;—ye truble him tó sair,
Unless his hand anointed be with mair.

Equally disgusted with the bar and with the court, he at length directed his views towards the church. His poems were printed by Robert Waldegrave in 1599, under the title of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of poesie may be espied: whereunto are added the experience of the author's youth, and certain precepts serving to the practice of sanctification[k]." This collection is inscribed to Elizabeth Melvil[l]; whom

[k] Some of the poems of Hume may be found in Mr Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. iii. and in a collection entitled *Scotish Descriptive Poems*.

[l] This female author is by courtesy styled Lady Culross. She published "Ane Godlie Dream, compylit in Scottish Meter by M[rs] M[elvill] Gentelwoman in Culros." Edinb. 1603, 4to. There is an edition which bears the following title: "A Godly Dream, by Elizabeth Melvill, Lady Culros, younger. At the request of a speciall friend." *Aberdene, imprinted by E. Raban, laird of Letters.* 1644, 8vo.

This lady has repeatedly been mentioned as the mother of Colvil: but as he flourished at the distance of nearly eighty years, their relation may be considered as extremely dubious. Samuel Colvil's *Mock Poem, or Whiggs Supplication*, was published at London in duodecimo in the year 1681. By the same writer, or at least by a writer of the same name, a theological work had been published under the title of "The Grand Impostor Discovered; or an Historical Dispute of the Papacy and Popish Religion: part i." Edinb. 1673, 4to. S. Colvil is celebrated by Cunningham as a strenuous defender of the Protestant religion. (*Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 27.) Whatever may be his qualifications as a polemic,

he extols as a most successful cultivator of sacred poetry.

Sir JAMES BALFOUR, Lyon King of Arms, is celebrated as a poet by his cotemporary John Leech: and Sir Robert Sibbald informs us that he had himself inspected a manuscript volume of his Latin and Scotish verses[m]. The following lines occur in a poem of Leech addrest to Balfour:

> Hunc tu carminibus constrictum, Jacobe, Latinis,
> Coge tuis numeris, quos Musa Caledonis aptat,
> Et natura tibi, nam tu quoque Scotica Siren.
> PANTHEA nostra tua est, ita cultu læta Britanno,
> Et melior meâ, si quid queat esse, puellâ.

Balfour enjoyed considerable celebrity during his lifetime. He lived in habits of intimacy with Drummond, Aytoun, and other men of letters[n].

his poetical talents are of a very ordinary character. The *Whiggs Supplication* is evidently an imitation of Butler; but it displays no portion of Butler's wit or learning. Its popularity seems to have exceeded its merits: it has been frequently reprinted; and a neat edition was published at St Andrews so lately as the year 1796.

[m] Sibbaldi Memoria Balfouriana, p. 5. Edinb. 1699, 8vo.

[n] Sir Robert Aytoun has prefixed the following stanzas to his *Eudia sive Strena Cal. Jan.* Lond. 1605, 4to. They are addrest "To the most worshipful and worthy Sir James Hay, Gentleman of his Majesty's Bedchamber."

> When Janus' keys unlocks the gates above,
> And throws more age on our sublunar lands,
> I sacrifice with flames of fervent love
> These hecatombs of kisses to thy hands.

THE admirable ballad of *Hardyknute* was published at Edinburgh in the year 1719, as a production of some ancient poet. It is now universally regarded as a modern composition: and it has been conjectured with some plausibility that

Their worth is small, but thy deserts are such,
They'll pass in worth, if once thy shrine they touch.

Laugh but on them, and then they will compare
With all the harvest of th' Arabian fields,
With all the pride of that perfumed air
Which winged troops of musked Zephyrs yields,
When with their breath they' embalm th' Elysian plain,
And makes the flow'rs reflect those scents again.

Yea, they will be more sweet in their conceit
Than Venus' kisses spent on Adon's wounds,
Than those wherewith pale Cynthia did entreat
The lovely shepherd of the Latmian bounds,
And more than those which Jove's ambrosial mouth
Prodigalized upon the Trojan youth.

I know they cannot such acceptance find,
If rigour censure their uncourtly frame;
But thou art courteous, and wilt call to mind
Th' excuse which shields both me and them from blame;
My Muse was but a novice into this,
And, being virgin, scarce well taught to kiss.

A panegyrical sonnet by Aytoun occurs among "The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige, Scotobritane," sig. F. 3. Lond. 1604, 4to. Craig, it may be cursorily mentioned, is also the author of another work which has escaped the researches of Mr Pinkerton: it is entitled "The Poeticall Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig, Scoto-Britan." Aberd. 1623, 4to.

I cannot omit this opportunity; such as it is, of detecting a fugitive sonnet by the Earl of Stirling. It is prefixed, among those of various other writers, to a work of Dr John Abernethy.

the real author is Sir John Hope Bruce of Kinross. The following extract is from a letter of Bruce to Lord Binning, who was also a writer of verses: "To perform my promise, I send you a true copy of the manuscript I found, some weeks ago, in a vault at Dumferline. It is written on vellum in a fair Gothic character; but so much defaced by time, as you'll find that the tenth part is not legible." This is evidently a stale expedient. "Sir John Bruce," says Mr Pinkerton, "forgetting his letter to Lord Binning, used Mrs Wardlaw, it would appear, as the midwife of his poetry, and furnished her with the stanza or two she afterward produced; as he did not wish his name to be used in the story of the vault[o]."

Of known effects, grounds too precisely sought,
Young naturalists oft atheists old do prove;
And some who naught, save who first moves, can move,
Scorn mediate means, as wonders still were wrought.
But temp'ring both, thou dost this difference even,
Divine physician, physical divine,
Who souls and bodies help'st; dost here design
From earth by reason, and by faith from heaven,
With mysteries which few can reach aright,
How heaven and earth are match'd, and work in man;
Who wise and holy ends and causes scan.
Lo true philosophy, perfection's height!
For this is all that we would wish to gain,
In bodies sound that minds may sound remain.

See "A Christian and Heavenly Treatise, containing Physicke for the Soule; very necessary for all that would inioy true soundnesse of minde, and peace of conscience: newly corrected and inlarged by the author. M. J. Abernethy, now Bishop of Cathnes." Lond. 1622, 4to.

[o] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. cxxviii.

It has however been peremptorily asserted by Mr Chalmers, the mighty decider of controversies, that *Hardyknute* was written by Elizabeth Hacket, the wife of Sir Henry Wardlaw, and the sister-in-law of Sir John Bruce. "There is not the least evidence," says this author, "that Sir John Bruce ever wrote any poetry. It is apparent, that though Sir John may have told the truth, that he did not tell the whole truth; that he knew, but did not choose to tell, who was the author; that having given a promise, he thought himself obliged to say something; but, he in the meantime consulted his wife's sister, who was the authoress; and who yet did not think fit to allow him to speak out. On the other hand; 'the late Mr Hepburn of Keith often declared, he was in the house with Lady Wardlaw, when she wrote Hardyknute.'—[Sir Charles Hacket's letter, dated the 2d November 1794, to Dr Stenhouse of Dumfermline.] Miss Elizabeth Menzies, the daughter of James Menzies, Esq. of Woodend, in Perthshire, by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Henry Wardlaw, wrote to Sir Charles Hacket, that her mother, who was sister-in-law to Lady Wardlaw, told her, that Lady Wardlaw was the real authoress of Hardyknute; that Mary, the wife of Charles Wedderburn, Esq. of Gosford, told Miss Menzies, that her mother, Lady Wardlaw, wrote Hardyknute: both Sir Charles Hacket, and Miss Elizabeth Menzies, concur in saying, that Lady

Wardlaw was a woman of elegant accomplishments, who wrote other poems, and practised drawing, *and cutting paper with her scissars!* and who had much wit, and humour, with great sweetness of temper.—[Sir Charles Hacket's MS. Account of the Wardlaw Family[p].]"

A second part of *Hardyknute* was published by Mr Pinkerton among his *Select Scotish Ballads*. He professed to be "indebted for most of the stanzas now recovered, to the memory of a lady in Lanarkshire:" but in a subsequent work he acknowledges that this supplement was entirely written by himself.

ALEXANDER PENNYCUIK, M.D. was born in 1652 and died in 1722[q]. His father, who bore the same name, and was of the same profession, purchased the estates of New Hall and Romanno. The younger Dr Pennycuik composed some unpoetical rhymes, which are commonly appended to his *History of the Shire of Tweedale*, printed at Edinburgh in quarto in the year 1715. He must be carefully distinguished from Alexander Pennycuik, a citizen of Edinburgh, who published *Streams from Helicon* and other prolusions of a similar character.

[p] Chalmers, Life of Allan Ramsay, p. xxx

[q] Edinburgh Magazine, vol. xvii. p. 257

William Hamilton of Gilbertfield is a contributor to Watson's *Choice Collection of Scots Poems.* He was one of the poetical correspondents of Allan Ramsay; and three of his epistles occur in the common edition of Ramsay's works. His modernized abridgement of Henry the Minstrel's poem was published in the year 1722. This is an injudicious and useless work; but we have Ramsay's decided testimony in favour of his Scotish poetry:

When I begoud first to cun verse,
And cou'd your Ardry whins rehearse,
Where Bonny Heck ran fast and fierce,
It warm'd my breast;
Then emulation did me pierce,
Whilk since ne'er ceast.

May I be licket wi' a bittle,
Gin of your numbers I think iittle,
Ye're never rugget, sham, nor kittle,
But blyth and gabby;
And hit the spirit to a title
Of standart Habby.

Hamilton's elegy on the death of his dog is also celebrated by John Wilson, a more recent poet:

Where late gay Hamilton's facetious lay
In rustic numbers hail'd returning May;
And bade the brakes of Ardrie long resound
The plaintive dirge that graced his favourite hound.

He was the son of Hamilton of Ladylands. At an early period of life he embraced the profession of a soldier; but a lieutenancy seems to have been the highest preferment which he obtained. During his latter years he resided at Letterick in the county of Lanark; where he died in 1751 at a very advanced age. He has sometimes been confounded with William Hamilton of Bangour, a poet of a more elegant taste.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALLAN RAMSAY.

THE

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OF the aspiring characters who among our countrymen have emerged from the lowest stations of life, few will be found to have attracted a larger portion of attention than the author of *The Gentle Shepherd.*

Allan Ramsay, the son of Robert Ramsay and of Alice Bower, was born on the fifteenth of October, one thousand six hundred and eighty-six. The place of his birth was the parish of Crawford-moor in the county of Lanark: and, according to one of his biographers, the ruins of the house in which he first drew breath are still pointed out to the inquisitive traveller. His father was employed in the management of Lord Hopetoun's mines at Leadhill; and his grandfather, Robert

Ramsay, a *writer* or attorney in Edinburgh, had enjoyed the same trust. His great-grandfather, Captain John Ramsay, was the son of Ramsay of Cockpen, and the nephew of Ramsay of Dalhousie. The poet may therefore be regarded as the descendant of what is termed a respectable family. His maternal grandfather had been induced to emigrate from Derbyshire, in order to instruct the miners of Leadhill.

For what education he received he was indebted to the parish-school. Here however he was not long permitted to remain. His father died in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and his mother, after a short interval, became the wife of a Mr Crichton, the proprietor of a small portion of land in Lanarkshire. Ramsay, who had now entered into the fifteenth year of his age, was thus reduced to the immediate necessity of betaking himself to some mechanical employment. In the year 1701 he was accordingly bound apprentice to a wig-maker in Edinburgh. It has generally been supposed that to this he united the kindred trade of shaving: but these two occupations seem during that period to have been distinct from each other; nor has any of Ramsay's poetical antagonists reminded him of his having been originally a barber.

At what time he commenced business, the most industrious of his biographers has not informed us; but this circumstance may safely be

placed before the year 1712, when he married Christiana Ross, the daughter of a writer in Edinburgh. In the course of the following year, his domestic felicity was increased by the birth of a son, who afterwards distinguished himself as a portrait-painter.

Ramsay was not remarkable for a premature ambition of literary distinction. The earliest of his productions which can now be traced is an epistle addrest "To the most happy Members of the Easy Club" in the year 1712. Of this club, which was composed of young men hostile to the union, he is supposed to have been an original member; but as the poem contains a petition for admittance, this supposition appears erroneous. According to the rules of the institution, each member was to adopt some characteristic name: and Ramsay did not scruple to select that of Gavin Douglas. It was to the inspection of the Easy Club that he submitted several of his earlier compositions. In 1715 this convivial society chose him for their poet-laureat; but he did not long enjoy this mark of distinction, for the tumults of the ensuing rebellion put a period to their meetings. One of their last acts was, as appears from the minutes, to declare "that Dr Pitcairne and Gawin Douglas, having behaved themselves three years as good members of this club, were adjudged to be gentlemen."

About this period many of his poems were pub-

lished in the detached form of pamphlets. The women of Edinburgh, it is said, were accustomed to put a penny into the hands of their children, and to dispatch them for "Allan Ramsay's last piece." He afterwards complained to the magistrates that some of his works were piratically reprinted; and was so fortunate as to obtain their protection for his literary property[a].

Having for a considerable time exercised the trade of a wig-maker, Ramsay at length adopted that of a bookseller. The parish-register styles him a wig-maker in 1716; but his second edition of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, published in 1718, was printed for the author, at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd.

His first edition of this poem appeared in 1715. To the original work of King James he first added a second, and afterwards a third canto: but he has ventured upon a total deviation from the primary plan; and instead of prosecuting the rustic squabble, has introduced the ceremony of a wedding.

He had already published many poems in a separate form; and, in 1721, he collected these into a quarto volume, which also included a few others. By this publication, which was encouraged by a very respectable list of subscribers, he is reported to have acquired four hundred guineas

[a] Ramsay's Poems, vol. i. p. 70.

The volume is dedicated "To the most beautiful of the Scots Ladies," is accompanied with several copies of panegyrical verses, and with a portrait of the author, painted by his friend Smibert. One of his warmest panegyrists is Josiah Burchet, the author of a *History of the Navy*, who sat in six parliaments, and was for many years secretary to the admiralty. Ramsay acknowledges his obligations to this gentleman for "having done him the honour of turning some of his pastoral poems into English, justly and elegantly."

In his preface to the volume, Ramsay hints that he had "been honoured with three or four satires;" a circumstance which evinces that he was now of sufficient consequence to excite envy. His principal rival was his fellow citizen Alexander Pennycuik, a versifier of mean talents.

From attacks of this kind his quiet does not appear to have been very liable to interruption. The volume concludes with *The Author's Address to his Book, in imitation of Horace;* a poem in which he speaks of himself with sufficient complacency.

> Awa, sic fears! gae spread my fame,
> And fix me an immortal name:
> Ages to come shall thee revive,
> And gar thee with new honours live.
> The future critics, I forsee,
> Shall have their notes on notes on thee:

The wits unborn shall beauties find
That never enter'd in my mind.
Now when thou tells how I was bred
But hough enough to a mean trade,
To balance that, pray let them ken,
My saul to higher pitch could sten:
And when ye shaw I'm scarce of gear,
Gar a' my virtues shine mair clear:
Tell, I the best and fairest please;
A little man that lo'es my ease,
And never thole these passions lang
That rudely mint to do me wrang.

This instance of self-congratulation may perhaps be pardoned on account of its air of jocularity: but what the author introduces in a sportive manner, he may be suspected of intending as an accurate expression of his deliberate sentiments. Whatever liberties might be authorized among the ancient poets, a modern will commonly find it a hazardous experiment to avow his hopes of immortality: a practice which did not tend to excite disgust in the cotemporaries of Horace and Ovid, might probably be deemed preposterous by those of Allan Ramsay.

The date of his various publications it would not be very easy or very important to trace. His principal literary exertions may be placed between the year 1718 and the year 1730.

The specimens of song-writing which he had presented to the public, seem to have experienced a favourable reception; for in the year 1724 he

was induced to publish the first volume of his well-known collection *The Tea-Table Miscellany*. A second volume appeared soon after the first; a third in 1727; and a fourth after another interval. It is uncertain whether the last was edited by Ramsay. This work consists of English as well as of Scotish songs, partly written by the editor, partly "done by some ingenious young gentlemen, who were so well pleased with his undertaking, that they generously lent him their assistance." Whatever may be the merit of the collection, which underwent twelve impressions in the space of a few years, its real importance would have been greatly enhanced, if, instead of adapting new verses to old tunes, he had contented himself with an attempt to rescue from oblivion the genuine productions of the ancient Scotish minstrels. Many beautiful songs, for which it may now be in vain to search, might then perhaps have been retrieved.

In the course of the same year he published "The Ever-Green, being a collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600." These two volumes were "printed by Mr Thomas Ruddiman for the publisher, at his shop near the Cross." A large proportion of his materials is derived from Bannatyne's MS.; for the use of which he in grateful terms acknowledges his obligations to the Hon. William Carmichael, brother to the Earl of Hyndford. "It was intend-

ed," he informs us, "that an account of the authors of the following collection should be given; but not being furnished with such distinct information as could be wished for that end at present, the design is delayed, until the publishing of a third or fourth succeeding volume, wherein the curious shall be satisfied, in as far as can be gathered, with relation to their lives and characters, and the time wherein they flourished." No sequel ever made its appearance; nor is it much to be regretted that the editor should thus have failed in the performance of his promise. To a task of this kind his literature was evidently inadequate; and his absurd practice of adding or retrenching according to his own pleasure, rendered him the most unfit editor of ancient poetry that could possibly have been found. Nor can his selection be considered as judicious: several of the poems inserted in *The Ever-Green* are highly indecent; others are not possest of any properties which seem to authorize their revival. This publication however was not without its utility; it tended in some degree to revive among his countrymen a taste for vernacular poetry; and to direct the attention of more accomplished antiquaries to the most precious collection of which Scotland can boast.

Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* was published in the year 1725. In 1721 he had published a pastoral under the title of *Patie and Roger*, which was

followed, in 1723, by a sequel under that of *Jenny and Meggy*. These specimens were so highly approved by his friends, that he at length proceeded to extend them to the form of a regular drama, which is now regarded as the chief foundation of his celebrity. *The Gentle Shepherd* is inscribed to Susanna Countess of Eglintoun, a lady who will long be remembered as a patroness of literature. In the dedication, Ramsay again assumes the tone of anticipation: "The bard who fondly hopes for immortality, has a certain praise-worthy pleasure in communicating to posterity the fame of distinguished characters."—The epistle dedicatory is followed by a poetical address to the countess, written by Hamilton of Bangour, an ingenious poet who appears to have been among the number of Ramsay's patrons.

A second volume of his poems appeared in 1728; and was reprinted in an octavo form during the ensuing year. His fame had now extended itself beyond the narrow limits of Scotland. An edition of his poetical works was published by the London booksellers in 1731; and another appeared at Dublin in 1733. One of his pastorals had been reprinted at London with a commendatory preface by Dr Sewel.

Ramsay now experienced a felicity reserved for few individuals: by the vigour of mental exertion he had gradually raised himself from his original obscurity, and had found himself capable

of securing the reputation which attached itself to his name; he enjoyed the protection and friendship of several of the more distinguished of his fellow citizens, and was generally regarded as a man whose genius reflected honour on his native country. He was caress by several of the Scotish nobility; and lived in habits of familiar intercourse with Sir John Clerk, Sir William Bennet, and Sir Alexander Dick. He also appears to have enjoyed the acquaintance of Colonel James Forrester, who was considered as the leader of fashion in the Scotish metropolis [b].

His intercourse with cotemporary poets was pretty extensive. Hamilton of Bangour and Hamilton of Gilbertfield were among the number of his friends. He has addrest verses to Pope, Gay, and Somervile, and to his countrymen Mallet and Mitchell. Somervile, the ingenious author of *The Chace*, has returned his poetical greetings in two epistles. Meston addressed a copy of verses "To Allan Ramsay, on the Death of Mr Hill," in which he styles the former a "great bard [c]." Among the Latin poems of Sir

[b] This gentleman, who has obtained the appellation of *Beau Forrester*, wrote a tract entitled "The Polite Philosopher; or an Essay on that Art which makes a Man happy in himself, and agreeable to others." Edinb. 1734. It occurs among Dodsley's *Fugitive Pieces*. Walpole supposes Forrester to have borrowed the original hint of his work from De Callieres *De la Science du Monde*. (*Walpoliana*, vol. ii. p. 25.)

[c] William Meston, A. M. was born in the parish of Mid-Mar and county of Aberdeen about the year 1688. Having finished his education

William Scot of Thirlstane, occurs an inscription with the title of " Effigies Allani Ramsæi, Poetæ Scoti, inter cæteras Poetarum Imagines in Templo Apollinis suspensa."

In 1726 Ramsay had removed from his shop opposite to what is at present known by the name of Niddry Street, to another at the east end of the Luckenbooths. Instead of retaining his old friend Mercury, he now ornamented his sign with

at Marischal College, he was chosen one of the masters of the High-School of Aberdeen; and was afterwards entertained as domestic tutor to the two sons of the Earl Marischal. About the year 1714 he was nominated Professor of Philosophy in Marischal College. This office however he did not long enjoy; for in the ensuing rebellion he followed the fortunes of the noble family of Keith, and was appointed governor of Dunotter-castle. The hopes of his party being annihilated at Sheriff-moor, he continued to skulk among the unfrequented wilds, till his fears were at length calmed by the act of indemnity. In his Jacobitical principles he still remained unshaken; and therefore could no longer hope for preferment. By the death of the Lady Marischal, being left without the means of subsistence, he successively opened an academy at Elgin, Tureff, Montrose, and Perth. Soon after his last removal, he was received in capacity of tutor into the family of Oliphant of Gask, where he continued for several years. He now fell into a languishing state, and retired to Peterhead, for the benefit of the mineral waters. His funds appear to have been exhausted; for he was supported by the Countess of Errol, who probably admired his poetry. The remainder of his life was spent among his relations at Aberdeen; where he died in the year 1745.

An edition of "The Poetical Works of the ingenious and learned William Meston, A. M." was published at Edinburgh in 1767, in one volume duodecimo. Though the title-page bears the sixth edition, the writer of the biographical sketch observes that " the whole was never before collected into one volume, nor published in an uniform manner." Whatever opinion Meston's cotemporaries might form of his ingenuity and learning, a reader of the present day will not derive much pleasure from the perusal of his poetical works.

the heads of Drummond and Jónson. "Here," says one of his biographers, "he sold and lent books till a late period of his life: here the wits of Edinburgh used to meet for amusement, and for information. From this commodious situation, Gay, a congenial poet, was wont to look out upon the Exchange of Edinburgh, in order to know persons, and to ascertain characters[d]." Ramsay is said to have been the first who established a circulating library in Scotland.

His collection of thirty fables was published in the year 1730. After this period his literary efforts were almost entirely discontinued. Few authors have perhaps been found possest of the prudence to retreat at a proper season.

A letter of Ramsay, addrest to Smibert the painter, reflects considerable light on this period of his history; and although it has already been printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and in other publications, it may here be inserted with sufficient propriety. It is dated, Edinburgh, May 10, 1736.

"My dear old friend, your health and happiness are ever ane addition to my satisfaction. God make your life easy and pleasant! Half a century of years have now row'd o'er my pow, that begins now to be lyart; yet thanks to my author! I eat, drink, and sleep as sound as I did

[d] Chalmers, Life of Ramsay, p. xxxix.

twenty years syne: yes, I laugh heartily too, and find as many objects to employ that faculty upon as ever; fools, fops, and knaves, grow as rank as formerly, yet here and there are to be found good and worthy men, who are ane honour to human life. We have small hopes of seeing you again in our old world; then let us be virtuous, and hope to meet in heaven. My good auld wife is still my bed-fellow. My son Allan has been pursuing your science since he was a dozen years auld; was with Mr Hyslidg at London for some time, about two years ago; has been since at home painting here like a Raphael; sets out for the seat of the beast beyond the Alps, within a month hence; to be away about two years. I'm sweer to part with him, but canna stem the current, which flows from the advice of his patrons and his own inclination. I have three daughters; one of seventeen, one of sixteen, and one of twelve years old; and no ae wally dragle amang them; all fine girls. These six or seven years past, I have not written a line of poetry. I e'en gave over in good time, before the coolness of fancy that attends advanced years, should make me risk the reputation I had acquired.

"Frae twenty-five to five and forty,
My Muse was neither sweer nor dorty;
My Pegasus wad break his tether,
E'en at the shagging of a feather,

And throw ideas scour like drift,
Streaking his wings up to the lift;
Then, then, my soul was in a low
That gart my numbers safely row:
But eild and judgment 'gin to say,
Let be your sangs, and learn to pray."

In the year 1736 his enterprizing spirit prompted him to build at his own expence the first theatre of which Scotland could boast. The dramatic representations with which our countrymen had formerly been entertained, were exhibited in the open fields, or in such apartments as could be casually procured: but Ramsay now undertook to raise a regular structure, and to supply it with a proper company of actors. A playhouse was accordingly built in Carrubber's Close. His new character of a manager he did not however long retain: the act for licensing the stage was past during the ensuing year; and the magistrates of Edinburgh commanded him to shut the house. As the introduction of the elegant amusements of the theatre had excited a violent clamour among those who were more conspicuous for zeal than for liberality, the downfal of his establishment was contemplated by a numerous class with infinite satisfaction. The loss which he thus sustained must have been very considerable. Whether he was ever so fortunate as to procure any remuneration, cannot now be so easily ascertained; but it is certain that he did not fail to complain

of the damage to which he had been inoffensively exposed.

He is supposed, I know not with what accuracy, to have relinquished his shop in the year 1755, when he had reached the age of sixty-nine. In the latter part of his life, he had built a house of a whimsical construction on the north side of the Castle Hill. Here he now resided in a state of dignified retirement. The place of his residence is still distinguished by the name of Ramsay Garden. Much of his time was spent in the society of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik and Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield. But his social connections were soon to be dissolved. He had begun to be severely afflicted with a scurvy in his gums; which, after having deprived him of his teeth, and corroded one of his jaw-bones, at length put a period to his life, when he had completed the age of seventy-one. He died at Edinburgh on the seventh of January, 1758, and was interred in the Gray-friars churchyard.

His wife, who died in 1743, had borne him several sons and daughters. Allan, the eldest of his children, was regularly educated to the profession of a painter; and, after having attained to considerable eminence, died in the year 1784. He had been appointed painter to his Majesty; and was also known as a man of letters, by the publication of some miscellaneous essays under the title of *The Investigator*. By his second wife,

the eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick, he left, besides two daughters, a male-representative of the poet, in the person of Lieutenant-Colonel John Ramsay of the third regiment of foot guards. Janet, one of the daughters of the elder Ramsay, is still alive.

In several of his poems, and particularly in his *Epistle to Mr James Arbuckle*, Ramsay has furnished us with various hints relative to his person and habits. The following quotation will preclude the necessity of farther enquiry:

Imprimis then, for tallness, I
Am five foot and four inches high;
A black-a-viced snod dapper fallow,
Nor lean, nor over-laid wi' tallow;
With phiz of a Morocco cut,
Resembling a late man of wit,
Auld-gabbet Spec. wha was sae cunning
To be a dummie ten years running.
Then, for the fabric of my mind,
'Tis mair to mirth than grief inclin'd:
I rather choose to laugh at folly,
Than shew dislike by melancholy;
Well judging a sour heavy face
Is not the truest mark of grace.
I hate a drunkard or a glutton,
Yet I'm nae fae to wine and mutton:
Great tables ne'er engag'd my wishes,
When crowded with o'er mony dishes;
A healthfu' stomach sharply set
Prefers a black-sey piping het.

I never could imagine't vicious,
Of a fair fame to be ambitious;
Proud to be thought a comic poet,
And let a judge of numbers know it,
I court occasion thus to shew it.
Second of thirdly, pray take heed,
Ye's get a short swatch of my creed.
To follow method negatively,
Ye ken, takes place of positively:
Well then, I'm nowther Whig nor Tory,
Nor credit give to purgatory.

However cautious Ramsay might be in avowing his political sentiments, it is well known that he was at heart a steady Jacobite.

His eulogium has been pronounced in the following simple but comprehensive terms, by a writer who enjoyed his personal acquaintance: He was an honest man, and of great pleasantry[c].

He was one of the few poets who have been equally successful in literature and in trade. Even at those particular periods of his life when poetry might have been supposed to absorb all his thoughts, a due share of attention was always paid to that unpoetical object the shop. The report of his having died a bankrupt is unfounded: his latter years were spent in ease and in affluence; in the enjoyment of that dignified repose to which every literary adventurer directs his secret wishes. He has been selected, and

[c] Tytler's Poetical Remains of K. James, p. 189.

with sufficient propriety, as a more pleasing exemplification of *The Poet's Fate:*

> But things may mend, and poets yet may hope,
> In better times, to charm and thrive like Pope,
> Or Allan Ramsay, that harmonious Scot:
> Now to fare ill is but the common lot.
>
> G. DYER.

Ramsay's works have been published in almost every possible form; but the best edition is that which appeared at London in the year 1800 in two volumes octavo. To this edition a life of the author was contributed by Mr Chalmers, and a critical essay on his writings by Lord Woodhouselee.

It has been the fortune of Ramsay to be alternately the object of hyperbolical praise and of unmerited censure: he has sometimes been represented as a writer of vigorous and original genius, and sometimes as a versifier hardly entitled to rank with those of the mediocre class. Between such extremes of sentiment it is commonly safest to follow a middle course. Such opposite decisions must be ascribed to a deficiency of candour on the one hand, and of judgment on the other. A poet whose writings have maintained their popularity during a series of years, must not rashly be excluded from the praise of ingenuity; and yet this capability of pleasing many readers

does not necessarily presuppose any high degree of original genius.

Ramsay was undoubtedly possest of talents above the ordinary level; and at the same time was not unconscious of his own strength. He was capable of moving the gentler passions, and of delineating ludicrous objects with no unskilful pencil. But it cannot be concealed that the sense of propriety has on many occasions deserted him; that some of his happiest thoughts are deformed by his predeliction for humour of the lowest species. In physical indelicacy, his works must be allowed to rival those of Swift. His faults are partly to be attributed to the peculiar complexion of his mind, partly to adventitious circumstances: and in a writer of his defective education, much will be pardoned by the humane reader.

His ambition to excel as a Scotish poet, seems to have been excited by such models as are exhibited in Watson's collection: he speaks of *Habby Simpson*, and Hamilton's *Bonny Heck*, as his standards. That he has surpast his masters, will not be controverted.

Dryden, Pope, Young, Prior, Swift, and Gay, seem to have been his favourites among the English poets: and from the perusal of their works he undoubtedly derived much advantage; but his attempts to write in the language and

style of these authors, cannot be pronounced very successful.

The productions of Ramsay exhibit, as might indeed have been expected, many striking inequalities. His songs, in particular, are of a very motley character; some of them distinguished by uncommon beauties, others composed in a strain of uninterrupted vulgarity.

The merit of his fables and tales is not very conspicuous. Instead of exercising his own invention, he has generally adopted the stories of other writers; and those he has not often adorned with new beauties. *The Monk and the Miller's Wife* is confessedly his most happy effort in this department[f]. This tale, says Lord Woodhouselee, "would of itself be his passport to immortality, as a comic poet. In this capacity he might enter the lists with Chaucer and Boccacio, with no great risk of discomfiture. Though far their inferior in acquired address, his native strength was perhaps not widely disproportionate. Of this admirable tale, I conceive he has the merit of the invention; as the story is not to be found in any of the older writers, as Sacchetti, Boccadio, or in the *Cento Novelle antiche*. In a few circumstances there is indeed a small resemblance to the 73d of the *Cent nouvelles Nouvelles*, intitled *L'Oi-*

[f] Of this tale a translation in Latin rhyme may be found in the *Corpus Rariorum Macaronicorum Delectus*, fasc. ii. Edinb. 1801, 8vo. The version is attributed to Mr Skinner.

seau en la Cage, which barely affords a presumption, that Ramsay may have read that story; but in all the material circumstances, his *Monk and the Miller's Wife* is original. A story of more festive humour could not have been devised. The characters are sustained with consummate propriety; the manners are true to nature; and poetic justice is most strictly observed in the winding up of the piece." But whatever merit this comic tale may be allowed to possess, the praise of its invention must not so rashly be awarded to Ramsay: for the general plan and all the material incidents are pilfered from *The Freirs of Berwik*. The inferiority of the modern poet is too evident to admit of controversy.

As an imitator of Horace, it would be unjust to deny him very considerable merit. The following quotation from his *Ode to the Ph—* in imitation of "Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte," is entitled to unqualified commendation:

Be sure ye dinna quat the grip
Of ilka joy when ye are young,
Before auld age your vitals nip,
And lay ye twafald o'er a rung.

Sweet youth's a blyth and heartsome time;
Then, lads and lasses, while it's May,
Gae pou the gowan in its prime,
Before it wither and decay.

Watch the saft minutes of delyte,
When Jenny speaks beneath her breath,
And kisses, laying a' the wyte
On you, if she kep ony skaith.

" Haith, ye're ill-bred," she'll smiling say ;
" Ye'll worry me, ye greedy rook ;"
Syne frae your arms she'll rin away,
And hide hersell in some dark nook.

Her laugh will lead you to the place
Where lies the happiness you want ;
And plainly tells you to your face,
Nineteen nay-says are half a grant.

The most poetical composition ascribed to Ramsay is " The Vision ; compylit in Latin be a most lernit Clerk in tyme of our hairship and oppression, *anno* 1300, and translatit in 1524." This poem was first printed in *The Ever-Green*; and no copy has ever been discovered in any ancient manuscript.

That it is the production of Ramsay, has been strenuously maintained by Mr Tytler and by his son Lord Woodhouselee. " Lord Hailes and Dr Beattie," says Mr Tytler, " conjecture, justly, the Vision to have been the composition of some friend to the cause of the house of Stuart, and written about the æra of the rebellion 1715." This was truly the case. I flatter myself that I can now produce the author, who was no other than the first editor of the Vision, under the

nature of A. R. Scot. *i. e.* Allan Ramsay Scotus[5]." But the simple truth is, that the poem appears under the signature of Ar. Scot. The obvious purport of the letters arranged in this manner, is Archibald, Arthur, or Arnald Scot; though it is not indeed altogether improbable that Ramsay might adopt such an arrangement, for the purpose of disguising his own initials.

The fable of *The Eagle and Robin Red-breist* appears with the same signature. These two poems, according to Mr Tytler, "were known by the friends of Ramsay's family to be of his composition, though only tacitly owned for the above reason. Of this fact I had a positive acknowledgment from Miss Ramsay, eldest daughter of the poet now alive, who informed me that her father was the author of both the pieces above-mentioned." Without conveying any personal reflections, it may perhaps be affirmed that this evidence is not altogether satisfactory. As these friends of Ramsay's family are not specified, their testimony is of a somewhat dubious nature. Miss Ramsay's knowledge of her father's literary affairs might originally be very imperfect; and the lapse of about sixty years cannot be supposed to have improved the accuracy of her recollection. When interrogated with respect to those two poems, some faint and confused notions might

[5] Transact. of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 396.

present themselves to her mind, and at length begin to acquire the force of conviction. Mr Tytler, the reporter of the evidence, cannot be regarded as a very safe guide: though distinguished by many estimable qualities, he was enslaved by prejudices which often bewildered his judgment.

According to Mr Boswell, the fable in question was written by Guthrie. He informed me, says this biographer, "that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, *The Eagle and the Robin Red-breast*, in the collection entitled *The Union*, though it is there said to be written by Archibald Scott, before the year 1600[h]." But, subjoins Mr Chalmers, "neither Boswell, nor Guthrie, seem to have adverted that this beautiful poem was first published in *The Ever-Green*, by the original author of it, when Guthrie must have been a very young man: for he died on the 9th of March 1770[i]." Although Guthrie died on the ninth of March, 1770, it does not necessarily follow that he was a very young man in the year 1724. He was born in 1701[j]; and consequently when *The Ever-Green* was first published, he must have been in the twenty-third year of his age. Boswell's statement of facts however is commonly as inaccurate as his reflections are

h Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 58, 4to.
i Chalmers, Life of Ramsay, p. xxx.
j Biographical Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 259.

impertinent. In the present instance it would be unsafe to rely on his insulated authority: and what tends to increase our suspicion is, that in the third edition of his strange book this passage is silently suppressed.

Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* has already been the subject of so much criticism, that it would now be superfluous to enter into a fresh discussion of its merits. Instead therefore of fatiguing the reader with my own remarks, I shall content myself with collecting "the testimonies of authors."

"Ramsay," says Mr Ritson, "was a man of strong natural parts, and a fine poetical genius, of which his celebrated pastoral *The Gentle Shepherd* will ever remain a substantial monument; and though some of his songs may be deformed by far-fetched allusions and pitiful conceits, *The Lass of Peattie's Mill*, *The Yellow-hair'd Laddie*, *Farewell to Lochaber*, and some others, must be allowed equal to any, and even superior, in point of pastoral simplicity, to most lyric productions, either in the Scotish or any other language[b]."

"No attempt to naturalize pastoral poetry," says Dr Aikin, "appears to have succeeded better than Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*: it has a considerable air of reality, and the descriptive parts, in general, are in the genuine taste of beautiful simplicity. Yet the sentiments and manners are

[b] Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. lviii

far from being entirely proper to the characters, and while some descend so low as to be disgustful, others are elevated far beyond nature. The real character of a Scottish or English shepherd is by much too coarse for poetry. I suspect Ramsay gains a great advantage among us by writing in the Scotch dialect: this not being familiar to us, and scarcely understood, softens the harsher parts, and gives a kind of foreign air that eludes the critic's severity [l]."

"Whether the dialect of Scotland," says Mr Roscoe, "be more favourable to attempts of this nature, or whether we are to seek for the fact in the character of the people, or the peculiar talents of the writers, certain it is, that the idiom of that country has been much more successfully employed in poetical composition, than that of any other part of these kingdoms, and that this practice may there be traced to a very early period. In later times, the beautiful dramatic poem of *The Gentle Shepherd* has exhibited rusticity without vulgarity, and elegant sentiment without affectation [m]."

"The principal difficulty in pastoral poetry," says Lord Woodhouselee, "when it attempts an actual delineation of nature, (which we have seen is too seldom its object,) lies in the association of delicate and affecting sentiments with the ge-

[l] Aikin's Essays on Song-Writing, p. 33.

[m] Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. i. p. 296.

mine manners of rustic life; an union so difficult to be accomplished, that the chief pastoral poets, both ancient and modern, have either entirely abandoned the attempt, by choosing to paint a fabulous and chimerical state of society; or have failed in their endeavour, either by indulging in such refinement of sentiment as is utterly inconsistent with rustic nature, or by endowing their characters with such a rudeness and vulgarity of manners as is hostile to every idea of delicacy. It appears to me that Ramsay has most happily avoided these extremes; and this he could the better do, from the singularly fortunate choice of his subject. The principal persons of the drama, though trained from infancy in the manners of rustic life, are of generous birth; to whom therefore we may allow, from nature and the influence of blood, an elevation of sentiment, and a nobler mode of thinking, than to ordinary peasants. To these characters the poet has therefore, with perfect propriety and knowledge of human nature, given the generous sentiments that accord with their condition, though veiled a little by the manners, and conveyed in the language which suits their accidental situation. The other characters, who are truly peasants, are painted with fidelity from nature; but even of these, the situation chosen by the poet was favourable for avoiding that extreme vulgarity and coarseness of manners which would have offend-

ed a good taste. The peasantry of the Pentland hills, within six or seven miles of the metropolis, with which of course they have frequent communication, cannot be supposed to exhibit the same rudeness of manners which distinguishes those of the remote part of the country. As the models, therefore, from which the poet drew were cast in a finer mold than mere provincial rustics, so their copies, as drawn by him, do not offend by their vulgarity, nor is there any greater degree of rusticity than what merely distinguishes their mode of life and occupations[n].

"I must not," says Dr Blair, "omit the mention of another pastoral drama, which will bear being brought into comparison with any composition of this kind, in any language; that is, Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*. It is a great disadvantage to this beautiful poem, that it is written in the old rustic dialect of Scotland, which, in a short time, will probably be entirely obsolete, and not intelligible; and it is a further disadvantage, that it is so entirely formed on the rural manners of Scotland, that none but a native of that country can thoroughly understand or relish it. But, though subject to these local disadvantages, which confine its reputation within narrow limits, it is full of so much natural description, and tender sentiment, as would

[n] Woodhouselee's Remarks on Ramsay, p. cxlviii.

do honour to any poet. The characters are well drawn, the incidents affecting; the scenery and manners lively and just. It affords a strong proof, both of the power which nature and simplicity possess, to reach the heart in every sort of writing; and of the variety of pleasing characters and subjects with which pastoral poetry, when properly managed, is capable of being enlivened[o]."

"The sentiments of that piece," says Dr Beattie, "are natural, the circumstances interesting; the characters well drawn, well distinguished, and well contrasted; and the fable has more probability than any other pastoral drama I am acquainted with. To an Englishman who has never conversed with the common people of Scotland, the language would appear only antiquated, obscure, or unintelligible; but to a Scotchman who thoroughly understands it, and is aware of its vulgarity, it appears *ludicrous*; from the contrast between *meanness* of phrase and *dignity* or *seriousness* of sentiment. This gives a farcical air even to the most affecting part of the poem; and occasions an impropriety of a peculiar kind, which is very observable in the representation. And accordingly, this play, with all its merit, and with a strong national partiality in its favour, has never given general satisfaction upon the stage[p]."

[o] Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, vol. iii. p. 126.

[p] Beattie's Essays, p. 382.

But its indifferent success on the stage may perhaps be in a great measure ascribed to a deficiency on the part of the actors. The British actors are almost entirely unacquainted with dramas of the pastoral kind: and their mode of pronouncing the Scotish dialect is generally distorted and preposterous. The number of professional comedians furnished by North Britain is very inconsiderable; and the natives of that country who, for their own amusement, have occasionally attempted Ramsay's principal characters, must necessarily be supposed to have laboured under all the disadvantages incident to inexperience.

A periodical writer has remarked, that "it is not the vulgarity of the Gentle Shepherd which disgusts a critical judge so much as the glaring intermixture of some English absurdly put into the mouths of the peasants of Scotland in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the events are supposed to have happened. The author should certainly have restricted himself to the plain and genuine use of his Scotish language, and not have interlarded it with English phraseologies, and phraseologies too, occasionally of affected elegance and refinement. Thus constituted, it produces the same effect as if a painter were to finish some parts of his subject with the highest touches of miniature, while others were left with the rude stroke of sign-daubing. It is not because it is written in the Scotish dialect,

but because it is not written in the Scotish dialect, that the language of the Gentle Shepherd becomes an object of critical censure." If however we admit the validity of these sentiments, which seem to have been advanced with a reference to Dr Beattie's decision, the Greek writers who have blended different dialects in the same composition, must be subjected to a censure equally rigid. The same canon of criticism will also prove fatal to the reputation of Burns; for his most beautiful productions, though professedly written in the Scotish dialect, are not only chequered with English phraseologies, but even with English verses. But if it be absolutely absurd for a Scotish peasant to be introduced speaking the English language, it must have been established as a general rule that a dramatic personage should always employ the language of the country to which he is supposed to belong. According to this hypothesis, Buchanan, Racine, and other poets who have founded their dramas on subjects of the same class, ought to be severely reprehended for having failed to write in Hebrew.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER ROSS, A. M.

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ALEXANDER ROSS, A. M.

THE life of Ross, though it extended beyond the ordinary term, seems to have been distinguished by few events which could afford much scope for biographical narration.

Alexander Ross was born about the year one thousand seven hundred. His father followed the occupation of a farmer in the parish of Kincardine Oneil and county of Aberdeen.

He is represented as having attained to some proficiency in the study of the Latin language; but the school where he imbibed his knowledge has not been particularized. At a proper age he was sent to the University of Aberdeen, and, as the Rev. Mr Perie of Lochlee supposes, was entered a student of Marischal College. As he took

the degree of Master of Arts, it may be concluded that his residence amounted to at least four years.

Having quitted the university, he was settled as parochial schoolmaster at Birse in his native county. About the year 1733 he removed to the parish of Lochlee in the county of Forfar or Angus[a]. Here he spent the rest of his simple and unvariegated life in the proper discharge of his official duties.

Ross's original intention, it may be conjectured, was to prepare himself for holy orders: in North Britain the ordinary provision of a schoolmaster is so scanty and insufficient, that few individuals who have received a liberal education, can be supposed to regard such a preferment as an honourable termination of their projects. This scheme, if in reality he ever cherished it, was probably frustrated by the scantiness of his resources. In the exordium of *The Fortunate Shepherdess*, he exhibits no very splendid picture of his private fortunes:

> Come, Scota, thou that anes upon a day
> Garr'd Allan Ramsay's hungry heart-strings play

[a] The passage in Mr Perie's letter to Mr Alexander Campbell is printed thus: "His first settlement was at Birs, where he was admitted parochial schoolmaster, about the year 1733. He removed to Lochlee, Forfarshire, where," &c. But unless we suppose Ross to have remained unoccupied till he had reached about thirty-three years of age, we ought to read, "About the year 1733, he removed to Lochlee." See Campbell's *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, p. 285. Edinb. 1798, 4to.

'The merriest sangs that ever yet were sung;
Pity anes mair, for I'm outthrow as clung.
'Twas that grim gossip, chandler-chafted want,
With threed-bair claithing and an ambry scant,
Made him cry on thee, to blaw throw his pen
Wi' leed that well might help him to come ben,
And crack amo' the best o' ilka sex,
And shape his houghs to gentle bows and becks.
He wan thy heart, well wordy o't, poor man:
Take yet anither gangrell by the han':
As gryt's my mister, an' my duds as bare,
And I as sib as he was, ilka hair:
Mak me but half as canny, there's no fear,
Tho' I be auld, but I'll yet gather gear.

Part of this description may perhaps be ascribed to poetical exaggeration, though at the same time it cannot be supposed that his comforts were very numerous. In the course of the last fifty years, the salaries of the parish schoolmasters have for the most part dwindled into a pittance inadequate to supply the wants of a single individual; and when those of a numerous family are superadded, perpetual misery can hardly fail to ensue.

Ross's pastoral tale entitled *Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess*, was published at Aberdeen in the year 1768, together with a few Scotish songs. The second edition, which appeared in 1778, he inscribed to the Duchess of Gordon in a strain which seems to acknowledge an antecedent obligation. But this obligation, it is more than probable, was only some instance of condescension:

an ingenious poet who was suffered to linger out his life as schoolmaster at Lochlee, cannot be supposed to have received any very substanstial favours.

Sometime after the publication of his poetical works, a commendatory poem, written in the Scotish dialect, was addrest to him in the Aberdeen Journal. This production, which appeared under the name of Oliver Oldstyle, has been confidently ascribed to Dr Beattie; on what foundation, I know not.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, Ross seems still to have prosecuted his poetical studies. Many of his inedited compositions have, by some accident, fallen into the custody of a bookseller in Edinburgh. They have been represented as unworthy of the author of *The Fortunate Shepherdess*. His grandson Mr Thomson informs us that during "the days of old age and infirmity," he composed a poem entitled *The Orphan*, and signified his intention of committing it to the press together with others of his productions; but was prevailed upon by Dr Beattie, one of his best friends, to relinquish a scheme that seemed to endanger the reputation which he had already acquired[b]. Unless the faults of his dramatic composition, *The Shaver*, be very numerous, its publication would certainly gratify the lovers of Scotish poetry.

[b] Campbell's Introd. to the Hist. of Poetry in Scotland, p. 285.

Ross died at Lochlee in the month of May, 1783. Before his removal from Birse, he had entered into the matrimonial state. His wife bore him a son and four daughters. Three of his daughters were alive in the year 1798; nor have I yet heard of their decease. His grandson the Rev. Alexander Thomson is the present minister of Lentrathan in the county of Forfar.

Ross has been described as a man of simple manners; of a religious deportment; assiduous in discharging the duties of his station. And this character, concise as it may appear, will be found to include every essential quality.

THE compositions of Ross exhibit a strange mixture of delicacy and coarseness, of beauty and deformity. Many detached passages are happily written; but to that concentration of powers which produces a finished whole, he seems to have been a total stranger.

His songs are not devoid of merit[c]: but his literary character is chiefly to be estimated from an examination of his *Fortunate Shepherdess*; a pastoral tale extending to about one hundred and thirty pages. The story is conducted with very little judgment; but many of the incidents and

[c] Some of Ross's pieces have been reprinted in the late Mr Ritson's collection of *Scotish Songs*. Lond. 1794, 2 vols. 12mo.

descriptions are imprest with the genuine beauties of nature. The general effect is not of the most pleasing kind; the final separation of the two lovers, and the transference of Helenore to a more wealthy suitor, cannot fail of leaving on the mind a very disagreeable impression. Nor will it be admitted as a sufficient apology for the plan, that such representations are strictly conformable to real life: in the fields of poetry we are not satisfied with a humiliating repetition of sad realities.

The manners of the poem are neither ancient nor modern, but an incongruous mixture of both. After having taught us to expect a delineation of ancient simplicity, Ross scruples not to introduce such descriptive strokes as the following:

> And now the priest to join the pair is come,
> But first is welcom'd with—a glass of rum.

Incongruity is his chief and indeed his almost perpetual fault. The very names of his characters, and of the places where he lays the scenes of his different incidents, are highly exceptionable. His happiest thoughts are disfigured by the affectation of a kind of smart and burlesque phraseology.

That such errors should have been committed by a professional scholar, may be considered as

somewhat surprizing. Ross's pastoral tale is however one of those productions which will always continue to delight a numerous class of readers. The celebrated Dr Blacklock, as I have learnt from one of his pupils, regarded it as equal to the pastoral comedy of Ramsay.

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL.D.

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ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL. D.

THE life of Dr Geddes has been written by his learned friend Mr Mason Good, with a copiousness of detail which leaves but little to be supplied, and with an impartiality of sentiment which the enthusiasm of friendship has not very frequently displayed.

Alexander Geddes was born in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven. His father, who bore the same baptismal name, rented a small farm at Arradowl in the parish of Ruthven and county of Banff. His mother, Janet Mitchell, was a native of Nether Dalachy in the parish of Bellay. His parents, who were of the Romish persuasion, were distinguished by a conscientious discharge of the duties of their humble

station. They were Papists without bigotry; they lived in poverty without being contaminated with meanness. They were animated with that noble ardour of literary ambition which so honourably characterizes the poor people of Scotland: their darling project was to procure for their son the advantages of a liberal education; and notwithstanding the discouragements which intervened, their fond anticipations of his future eminence seem to have invested it with many allurements.

He was taught to read by a village-schoolmistress of the name of Sellar; whose goodness of heart he was frequently heard to commemorate during the latest years of his life. This worthy tutoress possessed a qualification of the utmost importance in those who undertake the instruction of youth; namely the power of appreciating the temper and capacity of the pupils: and Dr Geddes, at a more brilliant period of his history, often declared that one of the earliest mental pleasures which he experienced, arose from the marks of distinction with which he had been honoured by Dame Sellar.

His love of study discovered itself during his very childhood; and the first book which excited his eager curiosity was the vulgar English bible. His parents, as he himself informs us, taught him to read it with attention and reverence[a]. Such

[a] Geddes's General Answer to Queries, Councils, and Criticisms, p. 2.

was the ardour of his infant mind, that before he reached the eleventh year of his age, he had committed to memory all the historical parts. "Such," to adopt the language of Dr Johnson, "are the accidents which, sometimes remembered, and perhaps sometimes forgotten, produce that particular designation of mind, and propensity for some certain science or employment, which is commonly called genius. The true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the great painter of the present age, had the first fondness for his art excited by the perusal of Richardson's treatise[b]." The future eminence of Dr Geddes as a biblical critic may, without any affectation of superior refinement, be imputed to the trivial circumstance of his father's scanty library supplying his young and ardent curiosity with few books besides the common bible.

From the tuition of Dame Sellar he passed to that of Mr Shearer, a student of Aberdeen, whom the laird of Arradowl had engaged as the domestic tutor of his two sons. This gentleman, with a degree of liberality which is not very frequently emulated, admitted young Geddes, as well as other two boys of the same condition, to a gratuitous participation of the family discipline.

[b] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. i. p. 2.

One of these pupils was the cousin of the poet, afterwards Dr John Geddes, Bishop of Marroco; a man who is never mentioned but in terms of respect and approbation[c].

At the age of fourteen Alexander Geddes, by the friendly interference of the laird of Arradowl, was admitted into the academy of Scalan, a Catholic seminary in the Highlands intended for the reception of such young men as are afterwards to be qualified for holy orders in some foreign university. In this seminary his studies appear to have been confined to the Latin language.

In the year 1758, when he had reached the age of twenty-one, he was removed to the University of Paris. The ship which conveyed him from Aberdeen, was exposed to the imminent hazard of foundering: and on his arrival at Camphire he found his strength so much impaired, that he could not safely prosecute his journey without some degree of repose. Arriving at Paris in the month of December, he was admitted into the Scotish college, of which Mr Gordon was at that time principal. To him Geddes was furnished with letters of recommendation: but his best recommendation was the strength of his talents.

[c] A portrait of Bishop Geddes, engraven by Scott, was published at Edinburgh in 1796.—Dr A. Geddes's brother John, a monk of the order of St Bennet, resides in the Scotish monastery at Würzbur

On several of the courses of lectures delivered in the College of Navarre, which was at that period in high reputation, he was induced to commence his immediate attendance. In this seminary he entered on the study of rhetoric under Professor Vicaire; and an excellent capacity joined to unremitting diligence soon placed him at the head of the class. His merit was duly appreciated by M. Vicaire, who afterwards honoured him with his particular friendship.

Instead of entering, during the second year of his academical course, upon the study of natural philosophy, he was induced by the advice of several friends, as well as by his own predeliction, to apply himself to the immediate study of divinity. He attended the theological lectures of M. Bure and M. de Saurent in the College of Navarre, and the prelections of M. l' Avocat, Orleans Professor of Hebrew in the Sorbonne. On the various merits of Professor l' Avocat his grateful pupil afterwards bestowed a high eulogium. "He had," says Dr Geddes, "a penetrating genius an astonishing memory, a correct judgment, and an exquisite taste. He was the most universal scholar, the most pleasant teacher, the most benevolent man, and the most moderate theologian I ever knew [d]." Their esteem was mutual; the professor entertained so favourable an opinion of Geddes, that he zea-

[d] Geddes's Prospectus, p. 120.

lously endeavoured to persuade him to fix his residence in Paris, and to assist in the public labours of the Scotish College. But Geddes had formed, at an early period of his life, the laudable plan of attempting a new translation of the bible for the use of British Catholics: and for the execution of this plan Paris was not the most convenient situation.

The study of theology did not in the mean time engage his undivided attention. While he remained at the university he is said to have entered deeply into an analysis of the Greek and Latin languages: and it was here that he also commenced his acquaintance with several of the modern tongues. His residence in the French metropolis rendered him perfectly familiar with the language of the country; and in due time he began to study the Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch. The mathematical sciences he viewed with some degree of aversion; but he paid considerable attention to several branches of natural and experimental philosophy.

Having continued six years at the university, he returned to Scotland in 1764. Soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he was ordered to fix his residence at Dundee in the capacity of an officiating priest. Here however he did not long remain; for in May, 1765, he became the domestic chaplain of the Earl of Traquair. "On

leaving the university," says Geddes, " I was fortunately placed in a nobleman's family, where I had plenty of time and a tolerable library to enable me to continue my favourite study [c]." His favourite study was biblical criticism; a study which he pursued during every period of his life with an enthusiastic ardour to which the present age has not afforded many parallels.

Having remained in the hospitable mansion of Lord Traquair for upwards of twelve months, the pleasing tranquillity which he had hitherto enjoyed began to be interrupted by an occurrence of a somewhat remarkable nature. " A female relation of the noble earl," says his learned biographer, " was at this time a coresident in the house, and constituted a part of the family. The merit of Mr Geddes was prominent; her own charms and the regard she openly professed for him were not less so: too soon he felt himself the prey of an impression which he well knew it was not possible for him to indulge, and Buxtorff was in danger of being supplanted by Ovid. He turned philosopher: but it was in vain; self-expostulation was useless; and the well-meditated resolutions of a day were often put to flight in a moment. But one step remained to be taken: he embraced it; and, with more hardihood than is often necessary to obtain a victory, sounded a

[c] Geddes's General Answer, p. 3

retreat. He had made, perhaps too hastily, his vow of religious celibacy, and its sanctity was not to be trifled with. Of two evils he had still the consolation to think that he had chosen the least; and with much reluctance of heart, but an approving and sustaining conscience, he abruptly broke away from the delightful shades and the more delightful conversations of Tweeddale, in less than two years after his arrival there; and leaving behind him a beautiful but confidential little poem, and as such not to be communicated in the present narrative, entitled *The Confessional*, addressed to the fair yet innocent author of his misfortunes, he once more took leave of his native country, and tried to forget himself amidst the greater varieties and volatilities of Paris[f]."

This metropolis had never presented him with many allurements; and the present state of his mind rendered him incapable of fixing his attention on any particular object. This general dissipation of thought did not however prevent him from renewing his visits to the public libraries, and enriching his portfolio with a variety of extracts relative to biblical criticism.

After an absence of eight or nine months, he returned to his native country in the spring of

[f] Good's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL.D. p. 29. Lond. 1803, 8vo

1769; and was now entrusted with the charge of a congregation at Auchinhalrig in the county of Banff. His new situation was by no means splendid or attractive. The parsonage-house and the chapel were verging towards a state of absolute ruin; and the poverty of the congregation did not seem to insure their speedy restitution. The number of the members, as well as their pious zeal, was experiencing a gradual diminution: and the peace of the community was disturbed by the rancour which subsisted between themselves, and which they displayed towards their Protestant neighbours. Such circumstances as these might have discouraged a man of ordinary resolution; but they only tended to stimulate the ardent and benevolent mind of Geddes to a proper pitch of exertion. At his suggestion the old chapel was demolished, and another erected on the same spot; and the parsonage-house, notwithstanding its ruinous aspect, was at length converted into a pleasant and commodious residence. He not only undertook the superintendence of the various workmen employed, but even bore a part in their labours. Geddes, although a profound scholar and a sagacious critic, was at the same time a skilful gardener and a dexterous carpenter: and in the execution of the plans in which he was at present engaged, these last qualifications were of no small importance. By his spirited exertions he at length found himself possest of a

cottage and garden adequate to his simple and unambitious wishes. His house, if not remarkable for its splendour, was more solidly ornamented by the hospitality of the owner. The various duties of Christian charity he practised more religiously than most of the saints in the Romish calendar: in judging of the character and conduct of others, he exercised a high degree of liberality; and he was ready on all occasions to relieve the indigent according to the utmost extent of his limited power. The affability of the man, and the assiduity of the pastor, excited sentiments of affectionate regard in every member of his congregation. The reputation which he had already acquired for extensive learning, not only secured him the unreserved confidence of his own flock, but also recommended him to the friendship of several indiduals distinguished by their rank or by their literary eminence. The principal object to which he endeavoured to render his increasing popularity subservient, was to banish the unchristian rancour which subsisted among his auditors, as well as between them and their brethren of the Protestant community. Of the gross illiberality of party zeal his enlarged mind was altogether incapable: a candid and attentive study of the scriptures and of ecclesiastical antiquities had enabled him to subdue the powerful prejudices of education; and he was extremely solicitous to

communicate the beneficial result of his extensive researches to the ignorant Catholics who composed his numerous congregation. The mummeries of Popery he despised as heartily as any Presbyterian. He exhorted his auditory to study the scriptures, and to exercise the right of private judgment.

These manly exertions were not altogether ineffectual: but such a tenor of conduct was so far from recommending him to the Popish clergy, that it only exposed him to their resentment. His diocesan, one Hay, threatened to suspend him from his clerical functions, unless he should afterwards walk with greater circumspection, and preserve himself uncontaminated by heretical intercourse. The chief delinquency with which he was charged by the titular bishop, was his occasional appearance in the church of his Protestant friend Mr Crawford, the worthy minister of an adjoining parish. The notification which he thus received, produced an epistolary correspondence with Hay; in which we may readily conjecture that the advantage lay on the side of the simple priest. The imprudent menaces of the puny dignitary he treated with contempt; and their execution was deferred till a future occasion.

While Geddes was thus employed in the conscientious discharge of his Christian duties, and was thus reaping the too-common reward of in-

tegrity, he was exposed to the additional mortification of pecuniary embarrassment. For the different debts contracted in rebuilding the chapel and in repairing the parsonage-house, he had become personally responsible: and as he had relied on the liberality of future contributions with a confidence of which he afterwards found reason to repent, he was now involved in difficulties from which he could perceive but little probability of being speedily extricated. His stipend was far from being ample; and he was harassed by the perpetual demands of the workmen who had been employed. From these embarrassments however he was happily released by the generosity of the late Duke of Norfolk. This Catholic nobleman, who had been apprized of the learning and zeal of the honest priest, and had exprest a wish to cultivate his personal acquaintance, was soon presented with an opportunity, through the friendly intervention of the Earl of Traquair. He was no sooner aware of the speculation in which Geddes had incautiously involved himself, than he undertook to relieve him from the difficulties by which it had been followed.

The recollection of his late distress inspired him with a temporary gust of worldly wisdom; a principle to which very few of his actions could ever be referred. With the view of increasing his scanty income, he undertook the manage-

ment of a small farm at Enzie in Fouchabers. Having been enabled to stock it by means of a loan, he began his agricultural operations with his accustomed ardour; and in the sanguine anticipation of his innocent mind he had already become a man of opulence. As a mind of this complexion seldom acknowledges any material distinction between expectation and possession, he speedily began to act as if he had realized his golden dream. He erected, almost entirely at his own expence, a neat and commodious chapel in the immediate vicinity of his farm-house: and as the distance between Enzie and Auchinhalrig is not considerable, he himself undertook the charge of both congregations. His agricultural speculation did not however produce all the advantages which he had expected. It was about the year 1775 that he entered on the possession of his farm; and in the year 1778 he again found himself surrounded by many formidable difficulties. His harvests had brought him but a scanty increase: the arrears of his debts contracted in the erection of his chapel were still undischarged; and the interest of the money which he had borrowed for the purpose of completing his stock, was perpetually accumulating.

Although he might relish an occasional interchange of study and rural labour, yet it cannot be supposed that a mind so enlightened as his could stoop to the diurnal regulation of a paltry

farm. Instead of directing his principal attention to the schemes of a plodding agriculturist, he was at this time deeply engaged in philological researches, and by way of relaxation from his severer studies, was incidentally employed in the cultivation of his poetical talents. By his qualifications as a scholar he endeavoured to supply his deficiencies as a farmer; and his first experiment was attended with a degree of success which surprized no person more than himself. In the year 1779 he published "Select Satires of Horace, translated into English Verse, and, for the most part, adapted to the Present Times and Manners." This work was printed at London in a quarto form; and produced him a profit of nearly one hundred pounds. Several of the satires are addrest to real characters; one is inscribed to Mr Burke, another to Dr Beattie. They are nine in number, and written in the Hudibrastic measure. Many of his sketches are spritely and entertaining; and although his diction is sometimes deficient in elegance, yet the versification is flowing and easy.

The sum of which he thus became possest, he immediately applied to the liquidation of his arrears: and the additional aid of some of his zealous friends enabled him to restore his affairs to a proper state of arrangement.

About this period the daughter of Count Murray of Melgum had been married to Lord Find-

later : and Mr Geddes was easily induced to undertake the task of instructing her in the English language, with which her foreign education had left her unacquainted. This new connection led him to form an intimate friendship with the Rev. Mr Buchanan, who had formerly been tutor to Lord Findlater, and who was at this time minister of Cullen. Geddes, who found him possest of good sense and liberality, did not hesitate occasionally to attend the church in which he officiated: and this departure from the general bigotry of his Catholic brethren exposed him to the angry expostulations of Bishop Hay. The acrimonious rebukes and menaces of this zealot he treated with that contempt which they merited: but the threats which had repeatedly been levelled against him, were at length carried into execution; he was suspended from the exercise of his clerical functions within the limits of Bishop Hay's diocese.

This sentence did not occasion much regret in the conscientious priest: for he had already formed the resolution of abandoning his present situation for the prospects of a literary adventurer; and had only been prevented from executing his scheme by the warmth of his attachment to his spiritual flock. The measure which he had voluntarily projected, he was now compelled to adopt. Towards the close of the year 1779 he communicated his intention to each of his con-

gregations: they received his resignation with mixed sensations of affliction for the irreparable loss which they were about to sustain, and of indignation against the individual by whose acrimonious zeal it was occasioned. "He took," says Mr Good, "a most affectionate leave of them; and such was the enthusiastic regard with which his courteousness, his kindness, his perpetual attention to the duties of his office, and especially to the instruction of the younger branches of his flock, had inspired them, that, at the sale of his household goods at Enzie, every one pressed forward to testify, by an extravagant bidding, his veneration and love, as well as to obtain possession of some monument of a man whose name and character were so justly dear to them. I am told, by a lady who was present upon the occasion, that the most insignificant articles of furniture, even cups and saucers, though imperfect or broken, were caught at with the utmost avidity; and that the people appeared to prize the different lots they were fortunate enough to procure, rather as relics of a patron saint than as memorials of a beloved pastor[g]."

The Catholics of Auchinhalrig and Fouchabers were not the only individuals who regretted the departure of Geddes from his native country: he had endeared himself in an equal degree to

[g] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 54

many persons of the Protestant community; and had already acquired no inconsiderable reputation as a man of learning. He had contracted a friendship with Dr Beattie and many other members of the University of Aberdeen; by which he was now honoured, in the beginning of the year 1780, with the degree of Doctor of Laws.

He immediately proceeded to London in company with the Earl of Traquair; through whose friendly interference he was invited to officiate in the chapel of the imperial ambassador. The recommendatory letters with which he was intrusted, introduced him to the acquaintance of many literary characters of distinction; and he also experienced no slight gratification in finding a ready access to several public and private libraries. He now reverted to his early plan of a new translation of the bible; and a fortunate incident soon occurred to render this plan more practicable than it had hitherto appeared. The Duchess of Gordon, with whom he had become acquainted in Scotland, sent him an invitation for the express purpose of being introduced to Lord Petre; a munificent nobleman who had long regretted the want of a proper English version for the use of his fellow Catholics. Lord Petre was persuaded that in Dr Geddes he had found a scholar capable of executing his favourite project; and with a generosity which ought to be recorded to his perpetual honour, engaged

to allow him an annual salary of two hundred pounds, and to defray whatever expences might be incurred in collecting a suitable apparatus of biblical literature. Of this instance of genuine liberality Dr Geddes afterwards expressed himself in the following manner: "Providence threw me into the arms of such a patron as Origen himself might have been proud to boast of; a patron who, for these ten years past, has with a dignity peculiar to himself, afforded me every conveniency that my heart could desire towards the carrying on and completing of my arduous work [h]."

He immediately began a general survey of his adventurous undertaking; and before the close of the year 1780, published his "Idea of a New Ver- of the Holy Bible, for the Use of the English Catholics." It was his present intention to translate from the vulgate, and even to adopt Dr Chaloner's edition of the Douay version as the general basis of his own: but he afterwards found, as he candidly acknowledges, that this was an absurd *idea*; and that by patching and piecing what had already been pieced and patched, he should exhibit a composition of a very motley texture.

His connection with the imperial ambassador closed with the present year. The service in the chapel was discontinued at the command of the emperor.

[h] Geddes's General Answer, p. 4.

During the ensuing summer he paid a visit to Scotland; and before his return, published a poem entitled "Linton, a Tweedale Pastoral." The subject of this pastoral, which was printed at Edinburgh in quarto, is the birth of Lord Traquair's eldest son; an event which took place during the visit which Dr Geddes was now paying to his early patron. Before his return to London, he accompanied the earl and countess in a tour to the south of France.

About this period the fanatical part of the nation was violently alarmed by Sir George Savile's [1] celebrated bill in favour of the Roman Catholics: and the members of that community were furiously attacked in many absurd and abusive pamphlets. One John Williams had published "A Full Detection of Popery, and Defence of a Protestant Barrier to be preserved by a more general Association of Protestants;" which drew from the formidable pen of Dr Geddes a series of "Cursory Remarks on a late Fanatical Publication entitled A Full Detection of Popery, &c. submitted to the candid perusal of the liberal minded of every denomination." The latter of these tracts was printed at London in 1783.

It was in the course of this year that he became acquainted with Dr Kennicott, a scholar

[1] A brief sketch of the life and character of this virtuous and disinterested politician may be found in Mr Wyvill's *Political Papers*, vol. iv. p. 553.

whom he has commemorated in terms of grateful remembrance. "I had hardly made known my design," says Geddes, "when he anticipated my wishes to have his advice and assistance towards the execution of it, with a degree of unreserved frankness and friendship which I had never before experienced in a stranger. Not contented with applauding and encouraging me himself, he pushed me forwards from my obscurity to the notice of others: he spoke of me to Barrington; he introduced me to Lowth. The very short time he lived, after my acquaintance with him, and the few opportunities I had of profiting from his conversation, are distressing reflections: but still I count it a happiness to have been acquainted with a man, whose labours I have daily occasion to bless, and whose memory I must ever revere."[1]

Dr Lowth suggested to him the propriety of submitting to public inspection a copious prospectus of the plan which he proposed to follow in his translation. A work of this description he immediately undertook; and after it was completed, he communicated his manuscript to the bishop, accompanying it with a request that he would mark with a black theta such passages as might appear exceptionable. The answer which he received was highly gratifying to his feelings as an author: "The Bishop of London presents his compliments to Dr Geddes, and returns, with thanks, his Prospectus, which he has read with some

[1] Geddes's Prospectus, p. 143.

care and attention, and with the fullest approbation. He finds no room for black thetas: and he doubts not that it will give universal satisfaction. He cannot help wishing that Dr Geddes would publish it: it would not only answer his design of introducing his work, but would really be a useful and edifying treatise for young students in divinity [k]."

In the year 1786 Dr Geddes visited the University of Glasgow; where he employed himself in collating a valuable and well-preserved Octateuch [l]. In the mean time he was superintending the impression of his "Prospectus of a New Translation of the Holy Bible from Corrected Texts of the Originals, compared with the Ancient Versions: with Various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Observations." This excellent work was printed at Glasgow in a quarto form; and met, as the author informs us, "with a reception which could not but be flattering to an obscure individual, whose name was hardly known in the republic of letters." It is inscribed to his excellent patron Lord Petre, "as the first fruits of many years of painful labour, in the pleasing hope of being, one day, able to lay before him the whole harvest." Among the eminent characters to whom he takes occasion to acknowledge his obligations for the encouragement which they had

k Geddes's Address to the Public, p. 8

l Geddes's Prospectus, p. 39.

afforded his design, we find the names of his countrymen Principal Robertson, Dr Reid, and Bishop Douglas. To his amiable cousin Dr John Geddes he has also offered a public tribute of esteem: "Bp. Geddes of Edinburgh will likewise permit me to say, that his early and warm approbation of my plan made me undertake it with more alacrity and pursue it with greater ardour. His prudent advices and seasonable encouragement have often given a new stimulus to my spirits in the midst of my labours, and sometimes supported me under their almost oppressive load. I trust, from his long uninterrupted friendship, that he will continue the same good offices, until I shall have fairly discharged myself of the heavy burthen; and I foresee I shall yet stand in need of such good offices[m]."

On the first of November, 1785, the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland had enrolled Dr Geddes among their correspondent members[n]; and on this occasion he composed an ingenious Scotish poem of considerable extent. The only volume which the society has hitherto published includes

[m] Geddes's Prospectus, p. 145.

[n] Smellie's Historical Account of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, p. 30.—Mr Good's account of Dr Geddes's connection with this society seems to be completely erroneous. "Dr Geddes," he affirms, "had taken a very active part in the institution, as well by his personal attendance as by his pen." (*Life of Geddes*, p. 58.) But it appears from Mr Smellie's chronological lists that Dr Geddes never was an ordinary member.

" Three Scottish Poems, with a previous Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect; by the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL. D." This volume was printed at Edinburgh in 1792.

During the year 1787 he published " A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London; containing Queries, Doubts, and Difficulties, relative to a Vernacular Version of the Holy Scriptures: being an Appendix to a Prospectus of a New Translation," &c. Before the close of this year he published a " Letter to the Rev. Dr Priestley; in which the author attempts to prove, by one Prescriptive Argument, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was a Primitive Tenet of Christianity." His " Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Case of the Protestant Dissenters; and the Expediency of a General Repeal of all Penal Statutes that regard Religious Opinions," was also printed in the year 1787: but as he suspected that it might have a tendency to injure the cause of the Dissenters which was at that time impending in parliament, he delayed its publication till the question was finally determined.

The Analytical Review commenced in the year 1788: and as he had now attained a high degree of celebrity, he was solicited to enlist himself as a stated contributor. This literary journal opens with the first part of a critique on De Rossi's *Varia*

Lectiones, which was written by Dr Geddes. He also reviewed several other works of importance; and, among the rest, Dr Campbell's translation of the four gospels, and Mr Wakefield's *Sylva Critica*. The articles which he is known to have contributed amount to the number of forty-seven: and Mr Good has remarked, that "Dr Geddes, in his connexion with the Analytical Review, during a period of five years and a half, accompanied it throughout its best days: and when the reader learns that its success was progressive as long as his assistance was extended to it, and that it gradually declined from the date of his secession, he will surely allow me, without the charge of undue panegyric, to attribute no small portion of its fairest reputation to himself[o]. To other periodical publications he was an occasional contributor. Some of his shorter poems were printed in *The Monthly Magazine*.

It was during this year that he published "Proposals for Printing by Subscription a New Translation of the Holy Bible, from Corrected Texts of the Originals; with Various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Observations."

"Dr Geddes's General Answer to the Queries, Councils, and Criticisms, that have been communicated to him since the Publication of his Proposals for Printing a New Translation of the

[o] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 192.—Mr Good has exhibited a catalogue of the various articles contributed by Dr Geddes.

Bible," appeared in 1790: and during the same year he published "An Answer to the Bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letter; by a Protesting Catholic;" "A Letter to the R. R. the Archbishops and Bishops of England; pointing out the only Sure Means of Preserving the Church from the Dangers that now threaten her: by an Upper-Graduate;" "Carmen Sæculare pro Gallica Gente Tyrannidi Aristocraticæ Erepta;" and an "Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem, de iis quæ gesta sunt in nupero Dissentientium Conventu." This last work is justly regarded as the happiest of his sportive effusions. The wit and humour which it displays have obtained that high degree of applause to which they are entitled. Within a few weeks after its first appearance he published a second edition of the *Epistola Macaronica*, accompanied with an English translation, for which he professes to be indebted to some friend. Before the close of this busy year he likewise printed "*Carmen Sæculare*, &c. A Secular Ode on the French Revolution, translated from the original Latin."

In 1791 appeared an "Encyclical Letter of the Bishops of Rama, Acanthos, and Centuriæ, to the Faithful Clergy and Laity of their respective Districts; with a continued Commentary for the Use of the Vulgar." This commentary proceeded from the masterly pen of Dr Geddes; who, with his accustomed liberality of sentiment,

bore a conspicuous part in the controversy which at this time subsisted among the English Catholics. The year at which we are now arrived, passed without any other literary exertion. He was siezed with a dangerous fever; and after he had begun to recover, accepted of a friendly invitation to visit Lord Petre's seat in Norfolk. In the country he spent a great part of the summer and autumn. About the beginning of the year 1792 he published "A Norfolk Tale; or, a Journal from London to Norwich: with a Prologue and an Epilogue[p]." This poem betrays evident symptoms of hasty composition; but it occasionally exhibits the characteristic features of Dr Geddes's mind.

During the same year he produced an ironical "Apology for Slavery; or, Six Cogent Arguments against the Immediate Abolition of the Slave-Trade;" a poem entitled "*L'Avocat du Diable:* the Devil's Advocate; or Satan versus Pictor: tried before the Court of Uncommon Pleas;" and "The first book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English Verse; being a Specimen

[p] The publication of this poem Mr Good has inaccurately referred to the year 1794. By means of the first edition, which is printed in octavo, I have been enabled to correct this part of his narrative. The dedication is dated January the first, 1792. For the use of this edition of the *Norfolk Tale*, and for many other instances of politeness, I am indebted to the Rev. THOMAS JERVIS of Gray's Inn Square; who enjoyed the personal acquaintance of Dr Geddes, and could appreciate his literary as well as his moral attainments.

of a New Translation of that Poet: with Critical Annotations." Cowper's translation of Homer had lately made its appearance, without gratifying the high expectations which had been excited. Dr Geddes, like many other readers, was completely disgusted[q]; and in a fit of undue exasperation, says his biographer, declared that he would himself translate Homer, and convince the world that it was possible to preserve sufficient elegance of versification, without relinquishing either the order, epithets, or phraseology of the original. This however was a wild attempt: and after having produced the first book of the Iliad as a specimen, he never reverted to his rash project.

The subject of *The Devil's Advocate*, a poem which displays a considerable share of humour, was a notable action for damages, brought before the court of King's Bench against Dr Wolcott, at the instance of the notorious Lord Lonsdale. The satirist had insinuated in one of his publications,

[q] Of Cowper's original productions he however entertained a very favourable opinion: and in his elegy on the death of Wakefield, he has accordingly assigned him an honourable station among the poets:

Illic sublimis spectabilis umbra Lucreti,
Magnifice scriptis jam decorata tuis:
Illic Miltonus, Popius, Drydenus, et ille
Naturæ potuit qui reserare sinus,
Shaksperius; secus ac Cowperus, flebilis iste,
Orco quem ante diem bilis acerba dedit.

that Mr Fuseli, after having long been in quest of a human figure which might assist his conceptions in sketching a picture of the Devil, at length cast his eyes on that of the illustrious peer.

These multifarious excursions into the different provinces of literature did not materially divert his attention from his great plan. It was in the year 1792 that he published the first volume of "The Holy Bible, or the Books accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians; otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants; faithfully translated from Corrected Texts of the Originals: with various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Remarks."

Dr Geddes had hitherto resided in furnished lodgings in different parts of the metropolis: but as his library had now received many large augmentations, he found it expedient to remove to a house of his own. About this time he accordingly engaged a house in Allsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-bone: and in preparing the necessary accommodations, he vigorously resumed the mechanical labours in which he had formerly exerted his skill[r]. Having provided himself with a large chest of carpenter's tools, and a proper stock of deals and mahogany, his first care was to com-

[r] Various other scholars have amused themselves with mechanical operations. Dr Whyte of Oxford is the printer of some of his own works; and Dr Hill of Dublin can boast of many splendid books entirely bound by himself.

plete the economy of a library; into which he speedily transformed every apartment of the house, except the kitchen and a chamber for the housekeeper. His drawing-room, parlour, and other rooms were adorned with hanging shelves; and one apartment, intended for a study, was arranged with superior assiduity. The shelves, which he contrived to edge with mahogany, were finished with a considerable degree of elegance. He was possest of a garden before as well as behind his house; and to its cultivation he devoted his leisure hours after he had completed the arrangement of his books. Here he is said to have toiled with all the industry of a labourer, and with all the zeal of a botanist. In the front of his mansion he erected a green-house with his own hands; and furnished it with exotic plants from the conservatories of his friends. During the winter months his green-house afforded him considerable amusement: for the improvement of its internal economy, his fertile fancy was perpetually suggesting new plans; and their execution drew him into a salutary relaxation from severer pursuits.

To the endearing intercourse of social life he also devoted a due portion of his time. "No man," says Mr Good, "was fonder of society than himself, and excepting when under the influence of high-wrought irritability, no man was possessed of more companionable qualities. His anec-

dote was always ready, his wit always brilliant: there was an originality of thought, a shrewdness of remark, an epigrammatic turn of expression in almost every thing which escaped him, that was sure to captivate his companions, and to induce those who had once met him, notwithstanding his habitual infirmity, to wish earnestly to meet him again[s]."

Dr Geddes had contemplated the progress of the French revolution with a degree of anxious anticipation, which a man of his unbounded benevolence could not fail to experience. In the year 1793 he composed other two secular odes, and printed them with a second edition of the former, under the title of "Carmina Sæcularia Tria, pro tribus celeberrimis Libertatis Gallicæ Epochis." But such was the political violence of the times, that he was strenuously advised by his friends to defer their publication till a more propitious period. They were accordingly supprest till the close of the late war.

His "Ver-Vert; or the Parrot of Nevers; a Poem in four books, freely translated from the French of J. B. Gresset," was published during the same year. The title-page mentions Oxford as the place of publication. He had completed his version before he was aware that the poem had already been translated by John Gilbert Cooper.

[s] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 315.

Both these translations are undoubtedly executed with considerable dexterity. Cooper has perhaps selected a more suitable measure; and has commonly proceeded with greater felicity than his successor.

"Doctor Geddes's Address to the Public, on the Publication of the first Volume of his New Translation of the Bible," also made its appearance in the year 1793. This is a sensible and manly production; in which he repels the many illiberal attacks that had been made on his personal character.

The most violent animosity which he experienced in the progress of his great work, was manifested by the British Catholics, for whose very benefit it will be recollected that his version was professedly undertaken. Although he had not affixed his name to the pamphlets which he published relative to the late application to parliament, he was sufficiently known to the bigotted party as their author: and this circumstance could not fail of increasing the malignity with which he had already begun to be viewed. "Even before my *Prospectus* appeared," says Geddes, "my very intentions were scrutinized and suspected. Whatever impartiality I might profess, they could not but think that I meant to favour the cause of Protestancy, and that my Bible (as they termed it) would turn out to be a Protestant Bible. They knew me to be one whose principles were not strictly orthodox; who lavished praises on

heretics and heresiarchs; who associated with Churchmen, Dissenters, Socinians; who indulged paradoxes; who laughed at rosaries, scapulars, agnus Deis, blessed medals, indulgences, obiits, dirges, &c.; who was an enemy to religious orders, hostile to the pope's prerogatives, disrespectful of his vicars, and an open abettor of *profane* innovations! Thus blending some truth with much falsehood, they worked up a medley of imputations, which could not fail to make a deep impression on the minds of their credulous devotees; who have generally no other criterion to judge of men or books, but the αυτος εφα of their good *directors*. Here the *directed* seem to have taken their lesson well. They siezed on the wholesale cargo, and carefully retailed it, with some small adulterations, among their friends and familiars: the mouth of every devotee was converted into a trumpet of defamation.

"The publication of my *Prospectus* seems for a while to have blunted the shafts of slander, and softened the fierceness of the foe. It was not, indeed, what they had expected; at least, not what they *wished* it to be: and, on that occasion, some of them joined or affected to join in the general applause. But the demon of rancour soon returned to take possession of his former hold; and, one would think, brought along with him *seven other spirits more wicked than himself*. My letters to the Bishop of London and to Dr Priestley, the

few *Critical Remarks* that accompanied my *Proposals* and specimen, and my *General Answer* to my correspondents, but especially my known attachment to the Catholic committee, and approbation of their measures, stirred up the half-smothered embers, and rekindled the latent sparks of enmity into an open and running conflagration[t]."

In a pastoral letter signed by Walmsley, Gibson, and Douglass, the respective vicars apostolic of the western, northern, and London districts, the use and reception of his translation was formally prohibited to the faithful committed to their spiritual jurisdiction. This prohibition was evidently dictated by the malignant spirit of party: and Dr Geddes immediately apprized Bishop Douglass, in whose district he resided, of his resolution to expose the futilities, false reasonings, and rash assertions, with which the pastoral letter abounds. On this subject he bestows a paragraph in his *Address to the Public*. He again wrote to the prelate for the purpose of signifying his intentions; and at the same time communicated to him the passage regarding the prohibition. The answer which he received is couched in the following terms:

[t] Geddes's Address to the Public, p. 9.

"London, June 27, 1793.

"SIR,

"Since it is evident from your letter to me that you adhere to and maintain the doctrines, which were censured by the Pastoral Letter, to which you allude; unless you signify to me, in writing, on or before Friday the fifth day of July next, your submission to observe the injunction contained in the 21st page of the said Pastoral Letter, viz. 'We prohibit our clergy, in particular, from preaching, teaching, maintaining, or supporting any of the aforesaid condemned opinions,' I hereby declare you suspended from the exercise of your orders in the London district,

"JOHN DOUGLASS, Vicar Apostolic."

To this foolish epistle Dr Geddes replied with his usual intrepidity. His letter is too remarkable to be excluded from a place in these pages.

"June 28, 1793.

"MY LORD,

"I thank you for having so readily answered my last letter, if that may be called an answer, which you have been pleased to return. It is certainly not the answer I expected: however, as it is an answer, and a prompt answer, I am satisfied: it is probably the best you could make; and *ad impossibile nemo tenetur.*

" From your profound silence as to the main object of my letter, I may fairly conclude that my complaints were just, and my suspicions well founded: so I will not press your Lordship further on that topic. But, my Lord, I must take the liberty to tell you, that you most grievously mistake, when you say, that ' it is evident, from my letter to you, that I *adhere to* and *maintain* the doctrines which were censured in the Pastoral Letter.' This, my Lord, is not only not *evident*, but utterly *false*.—In my whole letter, I have not said a word about those doctrines, much less have I testified my adherence to them, and still less yet have I maintained them. I have indeed called Sir John Throckmorton's work an excellent one; and so I deem it: but has your Lordship yet to learn, that a work may be excellent on the whole, and yet exceptionable in some of its parts? I think the Annals of Baronius on the whole an excellent work, although there are more than twice twelve propositions in it which I highly disapprove. Hume's History of England I take to be the very best work of its kind; but do I, for that, *adhere to* or *maintain* all the principles of Hume? Truly this may be logic at Rome or Valladolid; but it will never do in the meridian of London.

" By calling Sir John's book an excellent work, then, I have not expressed my adherence to any one of the propositions which you have censured

in it.—But I have said, 'You could not answer his book.'—I say so again, my Lord; at least I have yet seen no answer to it: and indeed, if you could have answered it, I hardly think you would have had recourse to *censure*. My saying then, that you could not answer it, is no *evident proof*, is no *proof* at all, that I *adhere* to the doctrines which you have censured in it. Whether I really do adhere to those doctrines, or not, is another question; which has nothing to do with our present correspondence: I may, possibly, let you into the secret on some other occasion: all that I now assert, is, that there is no sort of evidence before your Lordship that I *adhere to* or *maintain* the foresaid doctrines: consequently, my Lord, your hypothetical *declaration* is *absurd*, *abusive*, and *premature*.

" But perhaps, my Lord, you wish to have another occasion of exercising your episcopal authority, and of playing with *censures*, as children do with a new ball. I wish your Lordship much joy of the bauble: but, beware, my Lord, beware of playing too often with it.—Read St Chrysostom on ecclesiastical censures; and learn from him a little more moderation. Permit an *old priest* to tell you that it is a very great ornament in a *young bishop*.—As to myself, my Lord, I am not afraid of your censures, as long as I am conscious that I deserve them not. I will never *submit* to the *injunction contained in the 21st page of your*

Pastoral Letter, because I deem it a rash, ridiculous, and informal injunction. If this you think a sufficient reason for declaring me *suspended from the exercise of my orders in the London district*, much good may that declaration do you! The truth is, I exercise no pastoral function in your district: I have neither taught, preached, nor administered any sacrament in it for many years back: I have not even said prayers in any public chapel for six years at least. To oblige a friend or two, I have sometimes, not often, said private prayers at their houses: but since you seem to envy me the pleasure of obliging a friend, I forego that too. The chief *Bishop* of our souls is always accessible; and, through him, I can at all times have free access to the *Father*; who will not reject me but for voluntary unrepented crimes. In the panoply of conscious innocence, the whole thunder of the Vatican would in vain be levelled at my head.

"You see, my Lord, that I have not required even the short time you grant me, to signify my disposition to submit to the injunction in your Pastoral Letter. Such a submission, my Lord, will never be made by

"ALEX. GEDDES,

"A Priest of the Catholic Church."

About the beginning of the following year, the

answer with which he had threatened the pragmatical prelate was published under the title of a "Letter from the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL. D. to the Right Rev. John Douglass, Bishop of Centuriæ, and Vicar Apostolic in the London District."

Notwithstanding the energy which he displayed in repelling this illiberal attack, the repeated attempts of his numerous enemies were not completely ineffectual. The unmerited treatment which he experienced did not fail to interrupt the tranquillity of his mind: and about this period his literary plans were prosecuted with a material diminution of ardour. The despondency which was superinduced sunk him into a lingering illness; from which he was not without much difficulty retrieved by the persevering assiduity and animating efforts of his anxious friends. It was not till after a considerable interval that he was able to resume his more profound studies: the works which he produced in the mean time, were of a light and fugitive nature.

In 1795 he published an "Ode to the Hon. Thomas Pelham, Esq. occasioned by his Speech in the Irish House of Commons on the Catholic Bill;" and, in the following year, a burlesque paraphrase of a ridiculous sermon preached by Dr Coulthurst on the anniversary of his Majesty's accession. Dr Geddes's work bears the following title: "A Sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge, by H. W. C——t, D. D. &c.:

published by request: and now, (for the sake of freshmen and the laity,) by request translated into English Metre, by H. W. Hopkins, A. M." This humorous production he is said to have finished in the space of about three days.

In 1797 he published "The Battle of B—ng—r; or the Church's Triumph; a Comic-Heroic Poem, in nine cantos." The subject of this poem was suggested by the notable contest between Bishop Warren and Mr Grindley. The author professes to regard Boileau and Pope as his models:

> The peerless prelate who, with well-aim'd thrust,
> Laid a presumptuous layman in the dust,
> Chased from the precincts of the sacred fane
> A registrar rebellious, rash, and vain,
> Who dared 'gainst heav'n uplift his lawless rod,
> And bid defiance to the sons of God,
> I sing. Be present, Muse of Despréaux,
> And make my numbers like his numbers flow:
> Or rather, still more pow'rful succors bring;
> A greater hero, mightier deeds I sing.
> And thou, sweet nymph of a more noble stock,
> Who taught our bard to sing Belinda's lock,
> Vouchsafe on these more humble strains to smile,
> And let them live, at least a little while.

The Battle of Bangor is undoubtedly the most finished of Dr Geddes's English poems. The general plan is arranged with considerable skill; and the descriptions and images are often fanci-

ful and poetical. The diction however is not uniformly elegant.

During the same year he published the second volume of his translation of the bible. The first volume he had dedicated to his generous patron Lord Petre: this he inscribed "To her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, an early, spontaneous, and liberal encourager of the work."

In 1798 he published "A New Year's Gift to the Good People of England; being a Sermon, or something like a Sermon, in Defence of the Present War: preached on the day of Public Thanksgiving, by Polemophilus Brown, Curate of P——n;" and in 1799, "A Sermon, preached on the day of General Fast, February 27, 1799, by Polemophilus Brown, formerly Curate, now Vicar of P——n." The object of these two publications is to expose the profligate conduct of those profest ministers of peace who, for reasons best known to themselves, are disposed to represent as just and necessary every war in which the nation happens to engage.

In 1800 appeared his "Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures: corresponding with a New Translation of the Bible: vol. i. containing Remarks on the Pentateuch." At the close of the volume occurs a copy of Latin verses addrest to his friend Dr Disney; in which he unfolds his theological creed with respect to the inspiration of Moses.

The success of his great work did not completely correspond to his expectations. The freedom with which he delivered even the most unpopular of his opinions, exposed him to all the acrimony of illiberal zeal: and his plans were rendered less advantageous by his total ignorance of the vulgar arts of forcing a book upon the public attention. In advertising the three volumes of his biblical work it is believed that he did not expend the sum of five pounds. These volumes were printed at his own charge; and the speculation involved him in a series of difficulties from which he saw no probability of extricating himself. In this extremity however his usual good fortune did not desert him. He at length found himself compelled, however reluctantly, to disclose his increasing embarrassment to some of his most intimate friends: and the zeal which was manifested on this occasion, affords a strong proof of the estimation in which his character was held. "It is to the credit of the age in which we live," says Mr Good, "that without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, protestants and catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name, and many of whom had openly professed a dislike of his favorite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress; nor should it be forgotten that some part, at least, of

the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself[u]." The sum collected and expended on his account from the commencement of the year 1798 to the middle of the year 1800, amounted to about nine hundred pounds. The subsequent volumes of his version his friends now proposed to publish at their own hazard, and to reserve for the translator such profits as might remain after deducting the necessary expences. His arduous undertaking he did not however live to prosecute. The translation would have extended to six volumes in quarto; and only two have been published.

The generosity which was thus displayed by his friends, immediately restored him to his wonted chearfulness and vivacity. He now began to prepare for publication an elaborate work which he had composed so early as the year 1782, but which the unpropitious aspect of the times had then induced him to suppress. It was printed in 1800 under the title of "A Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain: addressed to all Moderate Protestants, particularly to the Members of both Houses of Parliament." This work, which appeared without the author's name, excited no ordinary degree of curiosity. It was translated into the French and German languages; and was regarded even at the Vatican as a most valuable and elaborate performance.

[u] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 472.

The notable encounter between Dr Wolcott and Mr Gifford afforded Dr Geddes a happy subject for the exercise of his satirical powers. Before the close of this year he published "Bardomachia Poema Macaronico-Latinum;" and, in a separate form, "*Bardomachia*: or the Battle of the Bards; translated from the original Latin."

But while he was occupied in his multifarious pursuits, he sustained an irreparable loss by the sudden death of his truly noble patron. Lord Petre died on the second of July, 1801, at the age of sixty-eight. By his last will he bequeathed to Dr Geddes an annuity of one hundred pounds: and the heir of his virtues, as well as of his civil honours, intimated in a very polite and friendly letter, that to this sum he proposed to add a yearly salary of the same amount. Before Dr Geddes was apprized of this nobleman's generous intention, Mr Timothy Brown of Chiswell Street had very liberally engaged that the deficiency which he was apparently to sustain by the death of his late patron, should be supplied by the voluntary contributions of those friends who had exerted themselves on the recent emergency, or, in case of their declining the proposition, by an equivalent salary to be annually paid by himself.

His income was thus left undiminished: but in Lord Petre he had not only lost a munificent patron, but also a warm and zealous friend. Af-

ter the first torrent of his grief had begun to subside, he employed himself in composing a Latin elegy on the lamented death of his benefactor.

Dr Geddes had now entered into the sixty-fourth year of his age; and although he occasionally displayed a large portion of youthful hilarity, yet the native vigour of his constitution was nearly exhausted. The death of Lord Petre had subjected him to frequent depressions of spirit; and he was in the mean time labouring under violent paroxysms of bodily pain, occasioned by a cancerous affection of the rectum. His energy of mind however was not easily subdued; he still continued to amuse himself with those studies which had so long exercised his powerful faculties. The return of peace, a subject highly delightful to his benevolent heart, awakened his poetical talents; and, in 1801, he produced a work entitled "Paci feliciter Reduci Ode Sapphica." Of this ode an English translation was published by his friend Mr Ring.

Gilbert Wakefield died at a premature age during the same year: and as Dr Geddes was one of those who deeply sympathized in his fate, he honoured his memory by an affectionate elegy composed in the Latin language[v]. This elegy he wrote during one of the intervals between his

[v] The elegies on Wakefield and Lord Petre were printed in *The Monthly Magazine*. Mr Good has inserted them in his memoirs of the author.

usual paroxysms of excruciating torture. It is supposed to have been the last composition which proceeded from his pen.

·· It was about the middle of the present year that he observed the earliest symptoms of his dreadful malady. To its progress he at first paid but little attention; and in consequence of this negligence, it soon increased to an alarming height. The extreme anxiety of his friends induced them to consult almost every eminent practitioner of physic in the metropolis: but the aid of medicine was now ineffectual. He expired on the twenty-sixth day of February, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The rites of the communion in which he had lived were administered to him by his friend M. St Martin, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Professor of Divinity. On his death-bed he adhered to the theological creed which he had formerly professed. M. St Martin, anxious to reclaim his friend from his heretical opinions, had on the present occasion provided himself with a written list of questions; but as he found Dr Geddes sunk into a lethargic condition, it was impossible to introduce any minute or lengthened investigation. Some questions he did however propose. "You fully believe," said he, "in the scriptures?" Geddes, rousing himself from his lethargy, answered, "Certainly." "In the doctrine of the trinity?" "Certainly; but not in

the manner you mean." "In the mediation of Jesus Christ?" "No, no, no, not as you mean: in Jesus Christ as our Saviour; but not in the atonement."

These and other particulars, which Mr Good has stated on the respectable authority of M. St Martin himself, furnish us with a complete refutation of the silly story relative to Dr Geddes's supposed recantation. Whatever his religious tenets may have been, he cherished them with sincerity, and professed them with intrepidity. They who have invented the kindred tales respecting the recantation of Geddes and Voltaire, may perhaps felicitate themselves on the purity of their intentions: but such pious frauds as those which they have evidently committed, will always be condemned by the liberal of every denomination [w].

The Catholics were sufficiently persuaded that Dr Geddes died in the profession of those tenets which he had formerly avowed: and his malignant enemy Bishop Douglass, actuated by the genuine spirit of persecution, expressly prohibited the celebration of public mass for the safety of his departed soul. But this irregular interdict

[w] That Voltaire, when he once supposed himself at the point of death, had not scrupled to profess his devout adherence to the tenets of the Catholic faith, is sufficiently evident from the testimony of his impudent biographer Condorcet. (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 164.) But the current tale relative to the mode in which he spent his last moments, seems to be completely devoid of authenticity.

was very far from gratifving the more respectable laymen of that community.

His remains, agreeably to his particular request, were interred in Paddington church-yard. " His funeral," says Mr Good, " was attended by a long procession of carriages, not indecently empty, and sent for the mere purpose of external parade, but filled with friends who were strenuously attached to his person, and will long venerate his memory; and who, though divided by different tenets into almost every class of christian and even political society, here consented to forget every nominal separation, and to unite in taking one common and affectionate farewel of a man who had been an honor to the generation in which he lived." A plain marble tablet, engraven with an inscription selected from his own writings, has been erected to his memory by Lord Petre.

Mr Good presents us with the following sketch of the general characteristics of his person and disposition: " In his corporeal make he was slender, and in the bold and formidable outlines of his countenance not highly prepossessing on a first interview: but never was there a face or a form through which the soul developed itself more completely than through his own. Every feature, and indeed every limb, was in harmony with the entire system, and displayed the restless and indefatigable operations of the interior of the

machine. A play of cheerfulness beamed uniformly from his cheeks, and his animated eyes rather darted than looked benevolence. Yet such was the irritability of his nerves, that a slight degree of opposition to his opinions, and especially when advanced by persons whose mental powers did not warrant such opposition, put to flight in a moment the natural character of his countenance, and cheerfulness and benevolence were exchanged for *exacerbation* and tumult. Of this physical and irresistible impulse in his constitution no man was more thoroughly sensible than himself; and if no man ever less succeeded in subduing it, no man ever took more pains to obtain a victory[x]."

The ingenious biographer's account of his first interview with Dr Geddes is too characteristic to be omitted: "I met him accidentally at the house of Miss Hamilton, who has lately acquired a just reputation for her excellent Letters on Education: and I freely confess that at the first interview I was by no means pleased with him. I beheld a man of about five feet five inches high, in a black dress put on with uncommon negligence, and apparently never fitted to his form: his figure was lank, his face meagre, his hair black, long and loose, without having been sufficiently submitted to the operations of the toilet—and his eyes, though

[x] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 529.

quick and vivid, sparkling at that time rather with irritability than benevolence. He was disputing with one of the company when I entered, and the rapidity with which at this moment he left his chair, and rushed, with an elevated tone of voice and uncourtly dogmatism of manner, towards his opponent, instantaneously persuaded me that the subject upon which the debate turned was of the utmost moment. I listened with all the attention I could command; and in a few minutes learned, to my astonishment, that it related to nothing more than the distance of his own house in the New Road, Paddington, from the place of our meeting, which was in Guildford-street. The debate being at length concluded, or rather worn out, the doctor took possession of the next chair to that in which I was seated, and united with myself and a friend who sat on my other side in discoursing upon the politics of the day. On this topic we proceeded smoothly and accordantly for some time; till at length disagreeing with us upon some point as trivial as the former, he again rose abruptly from his seat, traversed the room in every direction, with as indeterminate a parallax as that of a comet, loudly and with increase of voice maintaining his position at every step he took. Not wishing to prolong the dispute, we yielded to him without further interruption; and in the course of a few minutes after he had closed his harangue, he again approached

us, retook possesson of his chair, and was all playfulness, good humor, and genuine wit.

" Upon his retirement, I inquired of our amiable hostess whether this were a specimen of his common disposition, or whether any thing had particularly occurred to excite his irascibility. From her I learned that, with one of the best and most benevolent hearts in the world, he was naturally very irritable; but that his irritability was at the present period *exacerbated* by a slight degree of fever which had for some time affected his spirits, and which had probably been produced by a considerable degree of very unmerited ill usage and disappointment, I instantly regarded him in a different light: I sought his friendship, and obtained it; and it was not long before I myself witnessed in his actions a series of benevolence and charitable exertions, often beyond what prudence and a regard to his own limited income would have dictated, that stamped a higher esteem for him upon my heart than all the general information and profound learning he was universally known to possess, and which gave him more promptitude upon every subject that happened to be started than I ever beheld in any other person [y]."

Beside the works that have already been enumerated, Dr Geddes composed several poems which were printed on single sheets, or inserted

[y] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 300.

in periodical publications, or were only communicated in manuscript to his particular friends. He left an unpublished "Epistle to the King," written in English iambics, and consisting of about five hundred lines. It contains many professions of loyal attachment to his Majesty's person, but suggests the urgent expediency of a speedy change of ministry[z].

A short while before his death, he had begun to print "A New Translation of the Psalms, from Corrected Texts of the Original." This incomplete version, which extends to the hundred and eighteenth psalm, will soon be published.

He had devoted some portion of his time to the study of physiognomy, with the intention of presenting a new system to the public. About the year 1796 he had perfected his theory; and was only prevented by the expence of engrav-

z Dr Geddes, in his ode to peace, has likewise mentioned the king in terms sufficiently loyal:

Nec licet laudes meritas negare
Optimo regi, patriæque patri:
Qui simultates proprias reponit
Pacis ad aram.

Proferas vitam, videasque multos
Prosperos annos, generose princeps!
Teque regenti, populus perenni
Pace fruatur.

Sperne perversos animo ministros,
Bella queis cordi—rediviva bella!
Sunto sed cari tibi, rex amande,
Pacis amantes.

ings, from committing it to the press. After his death however not a single fragment of the work could be found among his papers.

These literary plans are enumerated by Mr Good; but Dr Geddes has himself alluded to several others. He professes to have had long in contemplation a comparative dictionary of the principal oriental dialects. "As a proper introduction to such a work," says Geddes, "I formed many years ago, the plan of a *Comparative Grammar of the principal Oriental dialects*; which, by way of relaxation from more serious studies, I am now compleating, and preparing for the press[a]."

THE name of Dr Geddes his countrymen ought always to mention with peculiar respect: few of our cotemporaries have so effectually contributed to support the reputation of Scotish literature. His natural endowments were unquestionably of a superior order: and a course of study which commenced with his childhood and only terminated with his life, had conducted him through almost every department of erudition. The versatility of his talents cannot be recollected without admiration.

His attainments as a biblical scholar I am not qualified, nor is it my present task to estimate. It will be sufficient to remark that they have

[a] Geddes's Prospectus, p. 73.

been applauded by the learned of every country in Europe. The splendour of his reputation procured him the honour of a correspondence with several eminent scholars on the continent; among whom were Professor Eichhorn of Göttingen, Professor Paulus of Jena, and Professor Timæus of Lüneburg. His death was announced in the foreign journals as an event disastrous to the cause of literature. The following extract Mr Good has translated from Ethinger's *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitungen:* "Theological science in England, and literature in every quarter, sustained a deep, a sensible, and in more than one respect an irreparable loss by the death of the learned, honest, and highly meritorious Dr Alexander Geddes, whose labours are well known to have been extensively useful even to foreign countries. He was a man of singular talents, and listened to by the most enlightened, erudite, and sagacious theologians and philosophers in England. The *three* volumes of his translation of the bible which have already appeared, together with his critical and philological commentary, his numerous little pieces in Latin, English, *and French*; his fugitive and fanciful publications, which add in no trivial degree to his labours, are the fairest monument of his clear head, of his erudition, of his taste, and of the keen vivacious wit which, in conjunction with a soft benevolent heart, and an unblemished character, per-

petually endeared him to men of real worth, and especially to all who were intimately acquainted with him."

Some of his works are highly valuable; and all of them are entitled to a perusal. The style of his English prose, though not uniformly elegant, is copious, animated, and attractive.

His poetical effusions are rather to be considered as the relaxations of a severe student, than as the compositions of an author ambitious of poetical distinction. They discover what he might have effected; but are not sufficiently elaborated to be classed among finished productions.

The only Scotish poems that appear with his name are those three which occur in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland;" but it is not improbable that he may have composed other fugitive pieces which he did not think proper to avow. To him the humorous ballad beginning "There was a wee wifiekie," has been attributed by Mr Skinner, one of the correspondents of Burns [b].

His "Epistle to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries," is alone sufficient to evince that he could have equalled the best of our modern poets. It contains many happy sketches; and the ver-

[b] Burns's Works, vol. ii. p. 129.

sification is spritely and flowing. The following passage relates to Fergusson :

Whare nou the nimphs that weent to feed
Their flocks upon the banks o' Tweed ;
And sang sa mony a winsom air
About the bus abeun Traquair ?
Wa's me ! sin Ramsay disappear'd,
Their tunefu' voice is na mair hear'd :
Nor ha' their charms sin syne been shown,
Except to Fergusson alone.
Ill-wierdet wight ! wha wu'd prefeer
A reaming bicker o' Bell's beer
To a' the nectar that distills
Fre Phœbus' munt in sucar't rills ;
And loo'd Ald Reikie's boussom lasses
Mair than the maidens o' Parnassus.
Yet he had ilka art to please,
And win the dortiest ev'n of these :
His was the reed sa sweet and shill
That sang *The Lass of Patie's Mill;*
To him belang't the wiel-strung lyre
That temper't Hammy's nati' fire ;
And Forbes' fife, sa feat and trim,
Was left, but ony doubt to him.
But nouther reed, nor lyre, nor fife,
Regarded he, but drank thro' life,
And leugh, until the cald o' death
Chill't his heart-blude, and stapt his breath.
He died, peur saul ! and wi' him died
The relict Muse o' mither-lied.

Nor must his liberal and discriminative encomium on Burns be excluded from our present notice :

An' nou the Muse wi' rapture turns
To Coila's glory, self-taught Burns;
Wha mid the constant avocation
Of a laborious occupation,
Finds time to cull si'k transient flours
As bleum on Galovidean moors,
And, at the pleugh or at the team,
Glows with a pure poetic gleam.
Whether in numbers smooth and easy
He sing the dirgie of a deasy,
Or in a strain mair free and frisky
Resoun' the praise of Highland whisky,
Or with a Goldsmith's pencil trace
The virtues o' the cottage race,
Or, wieldan' satire's heavy flail,
The cantan' hypocrite assail,
Or mind a patriot of his duty,
Or tune a safter pipe to beuty,
Or in a frolic wanton teen
Describe the fun of Hallow-e'en,
Tho' some few notes be harsh and hard,
Yet still we see the genuine bard.
Hale be thine heart, thou wale o' swains
That grace the Caledonian plains:
May ilka sort o' bliss thee follow,
That suits the vot'ries of Apollo;
A merry heart, a murkless head;
A conscience pure an' void o' dread;
A weil thak't hut, an ingle clear;
A fu' pint-stowp of reaming beer;
A daily sark, a Sunday coat;
Thy pocket ne'er without a groat;
An' for the solace of thy life,
A bonny, braw, belovit wife.
Su'd Fortune, mair outowr, befriend thee,
An' fouth o' gowd an' gear attend thee!

Bewar of indolence an' pride,
Nor cast thine aiten reed aside,
Bot trim an' blaw it mair an' mair,
An' court the Muses late and air:
Wi' critic skill explore the grain,
An' fan an' fan it owr again,
Till ne'er a bit of caff remain:
So sal thy name be handit down
With uther poets o' renown [c].

Dr Geddes's affection for the Scotish nation and language had induced him to form a serious wish, that some future writer would undertake an epic poem which might tend to advance the reputation of both. He thus prosecutes his address to Burns:

Thy rare example sal inspire
Our rising youth with rival fire;
Wha yet may emulate the lays
Of loftiest bards of ancient days.
Then may some future Douglas sing
A Christian, not a Pagan king;
Scots hirds may Mantuan hirds defy,
And Fergus with Æneas vy.

"Of all the unoccupied subjects for an epic poem," he subjoins in a note, "I know none more proper than the restoration of Fergus II. It is

[c] Dr Geddes's cousin the titular Bishop of Marroco seems to have been one of the patrons of Burns. A respectful and affectionate letter to Bishop Geddes occurs in Burns's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 215.

sufficiently near our time to afford general facts and dates; and sufficiently remote to admit a number of circumstantial embellishments. The poem might begin with his leaving the court of Scandinavia; he might then be sent to Ireland, thence to Ikolmkil, where some holy visionary might tell him the fate of himself and his successors down to the Union, &c. &c. The whole action might be compleated in the course of one year. The Scottish bard who would choose this subject, might, like Homer, avail himself of all the dialects which are used in the different counties; purifying them as much as possible from vulgarism, and reducing them to one uniform system of orthography and grammatical analogy."

His other two Scotish poems are translations of the first eclogue of Virgil, and the first idyl of Theocritus. In his translation from Virgil he has chiefly imitated the Edinburgh dialect; in that from Theocritus he has generally adopted the dialect of Buchan. These two versions, which he exhibited as illustrations of his speculations relative to the Scotish language, are executed with uncommon felicity. A complete translation of Theocritus by Dr Geddes would have been a valuable addition to the aggregate of our vernacular poetry.

THE

LIFE

OF

ROBERT FERGUSSON,

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AS little curiosity has hitherto been discovered with regard to the personal history of Fergusson [a], the collecting of materials for the following sketch has been attended with some difficulty. In the performance of this task I have been chiefly aided by the friendly exertions of Dr ROBERT ANDERSON, a gentleman not more distinguished for his knowledge and ingenuity, than for the amiable benevolence of his mind; a gentleman to whom our national literature is more indebted, than to the collective body of Scotish nobility.

[a] This biographical tract, it may be proper to observe, was published in the year 1799. It was reprinted in 1800 and in 1801. In the present edition several puerilities are retrenched.

Robert Fergusson was born at Edinburgh on the firth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty. His father, William Fergusson, who in his youth had discovered some propensity to the study of poetry, maintained a respectable character in the humble station in which he found himself placed. He served an apprenticeship to a tradesman in Aberdeen, and about the year 1746 came to Edinburgh in order to solicit employment. Having been engaged as a clerk by several masters, and those of various occupations, he at length procured the office of an accountant in the British Linen Hall, which he retained till the time of his death.

The poet was of a constitution so extremely delicate, that he was incapable of attending school till after he had reached the sixth year of his age. He was then placed under the tuition of a Mr Philp, who taught in Niddry's Wynd; and within the space of about six months, was transferred to that of Mr Gilchrist, one of the masters of the High School. While he continued at this excellent seminary, the infirm state of his health prevented him from giving the proper attendance: yet by means of his superior capacity, aided by a generous spirit of emulation, he excelled most of his companions. It was during those intervals in which the delicacy of his frame confined him at home, that he first discovered a relish for books. Having continued four years at

the grammar-school of Edinburgh, he was next removed to that of Dundee, where he remained two years longer.

He was originally intended for the church: and his friends were so fortunate as to procure him a bursary in the University of St Andrews; where he entered as a student at the age of thirteen. Here he soon became distinguished as a youth of superior genius, and rendered himself conspicuous as "a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy." His ingenuity recommended him to the favour of Dr Wilkie, who was then professor of natural philosophy in that university. It has been ridiculously asserted that Wilkie frequently employed him to read his academical prelections, when sickness or other casual circumstances prevented him from performing that duty himself. A boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age mounting the professorial rostrum, would afford an exhibition of a singular kind. It is also probable that Fergusson was more distinguished for his poetical genius, than for his talents in investigating subjects connected with natural philosophy. Certain it is however that Wilkie honoured him with particular marks of distinction. Nor were these bestowed on an ungrateful object: upon the death of his patron, which happened on the tenth of October, 1772, Fergusson offered a tribute of warm affection to his memory.

During his residence at St Andrews, he began to direct his attention to the study of poetry; and wrote many occasional verses, which attracted the particular notice of the professors, as well as of his fellow-students. Here he also formed the plan of a tragedy on the story of Sir William Wallace; but when he had finished the first two acts, he is said to have relinquished the design, because he had seen another dramatic poem on the same subject, and was apprehensive lest his should be regarded as a mere copy [b]. This seems a very singular reason.

Fergusson appears to have had another theatrical scheme floating in his mind: some fragments of speeches written with his own hand are to be found on the blank leaves of a book which was formerly in his possession [c].

Though he was never very remarkable for his application to study, yet he performed, with a sufficient share of applause, the various exercises which the rules of his college prescribed. The calm and even tenor however of an academic life was but ill calculated to afford him much satisfaction or enjoyment. His natural propensity to mirth and gaiety often caused him to re-

b Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. i. p. 647.

c The book is entitled "A Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians. By John Anderson, M. A." Glasg. 1714, 4to.—Fergusson denominates himself *Student of Divinity*.

lax in his exertions: he bore a principal part in a thousand youthful frolics; many of which are still remembered at St Andrews.

One of his exploits involved him in the disgrace of a temporary expulsion from the university. On the evening succeeding the distribution of the Earl of Kinnoul's prizes, the successful and the disappointed candidates having assembled in two adjoining apartments, a fierce encounter at length ensued between them; and Fergusson was particularized as one of the most distinguished combatants. The principal aggressors were formally expelled; but in consequence of their penitential submissions, they were within the space of a few days admitted to all the privileges which they had formerly enjoyed. The eloquence of Dr Wilkie was powerfully exerted in behalf of the young poet.

The term of his bursary extended to four years. After the expiration of that time he returned to Edinburgh, and abandoned his intention of entering into the church. As his father had died about two years before, his prospects were now sufficiently gloomy. He found himself without any present employment, and without any fixed resolution concerning his future pursuits; a situation dangerous beyond all others to a young man of a fervid imagination.

Some of his friends advised him to devote himself to the study of medicine; but he declined

following this advice, because, according to his own account, he fancied himself afflicted with every disease of which he redd the description. A similar anecdote is related of John Bois, one of the translators of the bible.

He had a maternal uncle living near Aberdeen, a Mr John Forbes, who was in pretty affluent circumstances. To him he paid a visit, in the hope of procuring some suitable employment through his influence. Mr Forbes at first treated him with civility; but instead of exerting himself to promote his interest, suffered him to remain six months in his house, and afterwards dismissed him in a manner which reflects very little honour on his memory. His clothes were beginning to assume an obsolete appearance; and he was therefore deemed an improper guest for his uncle's house. Filled with indignation at the ungenerous treatment which he had received, he retired to a little solitary inn that stood at a small distance; and addressed a letter to his unfeeling relation, couched in terms of manly resentment. After his departure, Mr Forbes seems to have relented: he dispatched a messenger to him with a few shillings to defray his expences on the road. He travelled to Edinburgh on foot; and the fatigues of the journey, added to his depression of mind, produced such an effect upon his delicate constitution, that for several days he was afflicted with a severe illness. When he

began to recover strength, he endeavoured to console his grief by composing a poem on *The Decay of Friendship*, and another *Against Repining at Fortune*.

Soon after this period he obtained an inferior situation in the commissary-clerk's office; but being unable to submit to the tyranny of the deputy, he soon relinquished it. Having again remained for a considerable time without any occupation, he was next received into the office of the sheriff-clerk. Here he continued during the rest of his life. The report of his having attempted the study of law, is devoid of foundation. Between studying law and transcribing law-papers there is certainly a very material distinction.

Before he had reached the twentieth year of his age, many of his little poems made their appearance in Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*. To this publication he was a constant contributor. The proprietor occasionally allowed him some pecuniary compensation; but he never wrote for any stipulated reward.

To trace him through the whole of his poetical progress, would be a task productive of much trouble to the writer, and of little entertainment to the reader. His pieces are too multifarious to admit of particular enumeration.

In a poem entitled *An Expedition to Fife*, he happened to cast some reflections on that district, branding it as "the most unhallowed 'midst the

Scotian plains." This aspersion drew a formal challenge from a Fifeshire gentleman, who appears to have possest in an eminent degree the true Scotish spirit of locality. Instead of accepting his antagonist's invitation, Fergusson treated it with derision.

The public immediately began to perceive the merit of his productions; and from the time of their first appearance in *The Weekly Magazine*, he was regarded as a poet of no ordinary talents. As the charms of his social qualities were even superior to those of his poetry, it is not surprizing that his company was eagerly solicited by people of every description. To the circles where gaiety and humour prevailed, his conversation recommended itself by every possible allurement; and where a more grave deportment was necessary, he could accommodate his manners to those of the individuals with whom he was casually associated. Such qualities as these, without producing any beneficial effects, tended to connect him with unprofitable companions, who gradually conducted him through the various stages of vice and dissipation. From the caresses of the moment he could derive no solid advantage. Those who have spent an ecstatic evening in the company of some man of intellectual eminence, are often very indifferent with respect to the mode in which he disposes of himself after the hour of separation: the object for which they solicited

his company being obtained, they seldom exert themselves in order to place him in a situation adequate to his merit, and congenial to his wishes.

This censure however must not be received without limitation. Fergusson had contracted an intimacy with a gentleman of the name of Burnet, who afterwards settled in the East Indies. Mr Burnet was so captivated with his ingenuity and amiable manners, that when he had arranged his own affairs, he resolved to provide for his less fortunate friend. In pursuance of this laudable design, he sent him a cordial invitation to visit India, and at the same time remitted a draught of one hundred pounds for defraying the expences of his voyage. But this bounty arrived too late; for he had then paid the debt of nature. Although Mr Burnet's benevolent intentions were thus frustrated by the stroke of death, it may yet afford him a very pleasing reflection, that of all those who were acquainted with the merits of Fergusson, he was the only person that stretched forth his hand to rescue him from the uncomfortable situation in which he spent the greater part of his life.

His latter years were wasted in perpetual dissipation. The condition to which he had reduced himself, prepared him for grasping at every object which promised a temporary alleviation of his cares: and as his funds were

often in an exhausted state, he at length had recourse to mean expedients.

Associates possest of the same taste for letters, and of the same ruinous habits of intemperance, were not wanting [d]. Men of this seeming incongruity of character have always abounded in the northern as well as in the southern metropolis

When he contemplated the high hopes from which he had fallen, his mind was visited with bitter remorse. But the resolutions of amendment which he formed were always of short duration. He was soon resubdued by the allurements of vice. At one time he evinced a determination to enter upon a more sober and retired course of life, and, in conseqence of this plan, took lodgings at a small distance from town. Here however he continued for a very short season.

From an epigram to be found among his posthumous pieces, it appears that he had conceived the design of abandoning the scene of his follies, and trying his fortune at sea. But this scheme was also relinquished.

Of a spouting club which had been instituted in Edinburgh he is reported to have been a distinguished member. His talents for mimickry were unrivalled: the reputation which he here acquired in exhibiting imitations of the most

d "Οὐδὲν γὰρ," says Cebes, "κωλύει εἶναι μὲν γράμματα, ἔχειν τὰ παίγνια ταῦτα, ὁμοίως δὲ μιᾶς καὶ ἀκριβοῦς ἕξεως."

eminent actors, inspired him with distant thoughts of mounting the stage. This ended like the rest of his projects: he still found himself incapable of active exertion, and unequal to the task of emancipating himself from the domination of vicious habits.

Notwithstanding the miserable state of dissipation into which he had plunged himself, his poetical studies were never totally neglected. In 1773 he published a collection of his poems, consisting of such pieces as had been printed in Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*, with the addition of a few others.

Auld Reikie made its appearance in the course of the same year. It is inscribed to Sir William Forbes, in terms of sufficient modesty and respect: but that worthy baronet seems to have despised

> The poor ovations of a minstrel's praise.
>
> PARK [c].

This ingenious poem it was his intention to extend at some future period to a much greater length; but what was originally offered as a first canto, has never received any important additions.

In 1774 his friends prevailed upon him to compose an elegiac poem on the death of John Cun-

[c] Mr Park is the author of a small volume of elegant and agreeable poetry, which, though little known in this part of the kingdom, has obtained a considerable degree of popularity in England.

ningham. It was published for the benefit of the unfortunate author, who was then verging towards that state of insanity in which he at length closed his miserable existence[f]. As he was incapable of superintending the press, some of his friends kindly undertook that office.

This was the last of his productions. His body being now emaciated with disease, and his mind totally unhinged, his relations began to observe in his behaviour something of an infantine cast; he talked in an incoherent manner, and frequently manifested an entire vacillation of thought. Of persons in his condition some leading object generally engrosses the attention, to the almost total exclusion of every other; the power of judgment is superseded, and that of imagination usurps its place. Religion presented itself to Fergusson; and this he made the perpetual theme of his discourse.

Such of his manuscripts as were in his own possession he committed indiscriminately to the flames, and was heard to declare that he felt some consolation in never having published any work hostile to the interests of religion. Those studies which had formerly been the solace of his cares were now utterly neglected: he laid every other book aside, and made the bible his constant companion.

[f] Anderson's Life of Cunningham.

It is frequently alleged that the religious despondency which at first seized him, was unaccompanied with any symptoms of irrationality. Of the improbability of this assertion, the following anecdote may be regarded as a striking proof. Mr Woods of the theatre royal, who had cultivated his acquaintance before it ceased to be reputable, chanced one day to meet him passing under the North Bridge in a disordered manner, and regardless of every surrounding object. Upon his friend's accosting him, he affirmed that he had discovered one of the reprobates who crucified our Saviour; and that in order to bring him to condign punishment, he was making all possible haste to lodge the information with Lord Kames.

Having experienced a temporary relief from his dreadful malady, he again began to visit his friends; but had one night the misfortune to fall from a stair-case, and receive a violent contusion on the head. When carried home, he seemed completely insensible of the accident which had befallen him. He at length became so outrageous, that it was not without some difficulty that the united force of several men could restrain his violence.

As his afflicted mother was not in a condition to command the proper attendance in her own house, she was under the necessity of removing him to the public asylum. Some of his most

intimate friends having watched a proper opportunity, found means to convey him thither, by decoying him into a chair as if he had been about to pay an evening visit. When they reached the place of their destination, all was wrapt in profound silence. The poor youth entered the dismal mansion. He cast his eyes wildly around, and began to perceive his real situation. The discovery awakened every feeling of his soul. He raised a hideous shout, which being returned by the wretched inhabitants of every cell, echoed along the vaulted roofs, and produced in the minds of his companions sentiments of unspeakable horror. They stood aghast at the dreadful scene; the impression which it left was too deep for time ever to efface.

When he was afterwards visited by his mother and elder sister, his phrenzy had almost entirely subsided. He had at first imagined himself a king or some other great personage, and had adorned his head with a crown of straw. The delusion however was now vanished. Upon their entrance, they found him lying in his cell, to appearance calm and collected. He told them he was sensible of their kindness, and hoped he should soon be in a condition to receive their visits. He also recalled to their memory the presentiment which he had so often exprest of his being at length overwhelmed by this most dreadful of all calamities; but endeavoured to comfort

them with assurances of his being humanely treated in the asylum.

From the tenor of his behaviour upon this occasion, his mother was led to entertain hopes of his speedy recovery. A remittance from her elder son Henry having now rendered her more easy in her circumstances, she determined to remove him to her own house, and immediately began to make the proper arrangements for his reception. But these hopes were only delusive. Within the space of a few days a messenger announced the melancholy tidings that her beloved son had breathed his last. The violent exertions of his mind had gradually ruined the animal system; and at length he was so much exhausted, that he expired without a groan. He died on the sixteenth of October, 1774, after having continued about two months in bedlam. He had only completed the twenty-fourth year of his age.

His remains were decently interred in the Canongate church-yard; and for a considerable time there was no stone to mark the place of his dust. In a late publication it has been erroneously asserted that "his friends erected a monument to his memory, which has since been removed to make way for a larger and more elegant monument by his enthusiastic admirer the late poet Burns[g]." His friends were in no con-

[g] Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. i. p. 648.

dition to rear sepulchral fabrics; and this "larger and more elegant monument" is almost as plain a stone as ever graced a country church-yard. Yet the erection even of this frail memorial reflects the highest honour on the sympathetic feelings of Burns[h].

Upon one side of the stone he caused the following epitaph of his own composition to be engraven:

No sculptur'd marble here, nor pompous lay!
No storied urn, nor animated bust!
This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way,
To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust.

The other side bears this inscription:

By special grant of the Managers
To ROBERT BURNS, who erected this stone,
This burial place is ever to remain sacred to the memory of
ROBERT FERGUSSON.

Fergusson was of a middle stature, and of a somewhat slender form. His countenance, which in other respects had a slight tendency towards effeminacy, was rendered highly animated by

h "In relating the incidents of our poet's life in Edinburgh, we ought to have mentioned the sentiments of respect and sympathy with which he traced out the grave of his predecessor Fergusson, over whose ashes in the Canongate church-yard he obtained leave to erect an humble monument, which will be viewed by reflecting minds with no common interest, and which will awake in the bosom of kindred genius many a high emotion."

CURRIE's Life of Burns, p. 189.

the expression of his large black eyes. In his address he was genteel, and free from affectation. From the portrait usually prefixed to his works, no idea of his external appearance can be derived; it is entirely supposititious. That which he mentions in his *Codicil* cannot now be found. It has been asserted that he sat to Runciman for a picture of the prodigal son; and that the piece in which he made so conspicuous a figure was sold at the exhibition in London.

He has thus been characterized by one of the correspondents of Burns: "While I recollect with pleasure his extraordinary talents and many amiable qualities, it affords me the greatest consolation, that I am honoured with the correspondence of his successor in national simplicity and genius. That Mr Burns has refined in the art of poetry, must readily be admitted; but notwithstanding many favourable representations, I am yet to learn that he inherits his convivial powers.

"There was such a richness of conversation, such a plenitude of fancy and attraction in him, that when I call the happy period of our intercourse to my memory, I feel myself in a state of delirium. I was then younger than him by eight or ten years, but his manner was so felicitous, that he enraptured every person around him, and infused into the hearts of the young and old, the

spirit and animation which operated on his own mind[1]."

Gentleness and humanity of disposition he possessed in an eminent degree. The impulse of benevolence frequently prompted him to bestow his last farthing on those who solicited his charity. His surviving relations retain a pleasing remembrance of his dutiful behaviour towards his parents; and the tender regard with which his memory is still cherished by his numerous acquaintance, fully demonstrates his value as a friend. Till his dissipated manner of life had in a great measure eradicated all sense of delicacy or propriety, he always evinced a manly spirit of independence. Let it be recorded to his honour that he never disgraced his Muse with the servile strain of panegyric; that he flattered no illiterate peer, nor sacrificed his sincerity in order to advance his interest.

Of the sensibility and fancy of a poet, Fergusson seems to have inherited a considerable portion. His works however are of very unequal merit; some of them excellent, some even below mediocrity. It is in the composition of his Scotish poems that we must expect to find his efforts most successful. To such of his pieces as are written in English very little praise is due: they

[1] Burns's Works, vol. ii. p. 259.

occasionally discover marks of genius; but the greater part appear deficient in every quality which tends to interest and captivate the mind.

Towards pastoral poetry he betrays the usual partiality of a juvenile writer; but his attempts in this department are far from being successful. Of his eclogues the numbers are sufficiently smooth, but the sentiments trite and common. Many passages are tautological and childish; and in general the reader meets with nothing that delights his fancy or interests his feelings.

There is something in the nature of pastoral poetry which seems in a great measure to preclude all hopes of succeeding in that species of composition. The life of a shepherd admits of so little variety, and has so frequently afforded materials to the poets of every nation, that the subject is now found to be completely exhausted. Whenever a shepherd is introduced in a modern eclogue, we anticipate the train of his discourse as soon as we are acquainted with his particular situation. Nothing can be more monotonous and insipid than the generality of such productions.

His *Expedition to Fife*, *Epistle to a Friend*, and other poems of the same class, are not entitled to a larger portion of praise. The application of blank verse to trivial or ludicrous subjects has seldom been found to succeed. *The Splendid Shilling* of Philips is almost the only work of this

description that can afford pleasure in the perusal. Besides the important advantage of an original design, it possesses a kind of quaint dignity peculiar to itself.

Philips was apparently the model which he proposed to imitate; but his versification bears a stronger resemblance to that of Trapp or Roscommon. The cadence of his verses is commonly the same as that of the rhyming couplet. This observation will be verified by the following lines:

> From noisy bustle, from contention free,
> Far from the busy town I careless loll,
> Not like swain Tityrus or the bards of old,
> Under a beechen venerable shade,
> But on a furzy heath where blooming broom
> And thorny whins the spacious plains adorn.
> Here health sits smiling on my youthful brow;
> For ere the sun, &c.

Nothing can be more fatiguing to the ear than such verses as these: the structure of every line naturally induces us to expect a correspondent rhyme at the close of the next; but as this expectation is always disappointed, we are filled with langour and disgust.

His *Last Will* and the *Codicil* may be ranked among the best of his English poems. Though far from being correct, they are spritely and humorous. The *Epilogue spoken by Mr Wilson* likewise rises above mediocrity. The assumed character of an Edinburgh buck is very happily supported.

In poems professedly English he very frequently adopts phraseologies peculiar to the Scotish dialect. But this is an error into which more correct writers have been betrayed; an error not easily to be avoided by those who have received a genuine Scotish education[j].

j The hallucinations of those who have undertaken to teach us the art of rejecting Scoticisms, are numerous and glaring. The work even of Dr Beattie is a very unsafe guide: most of the words and phrases which he has particularized, except such as merely belong to familiar discourse, are genuine Anglicisms. The only book that he consulted seems to have been Dr Johnson's dictionary; which is very far from comprehending a complete vocabulary of the English language.

"Angry *at* him," is one of Dr Beattie's Scoticisms. But this phrase is used by the great lexicographer himself: "He was therefore angry *at* Swift." (Johnson's *Lives of English Poets*, vol. iv. p. 111.)

Relevant has been stigmatized by Dr Beattie, and *irrelevant* by Mr George Mason; with what justice, the following passage in Dryden may serve to ascertain: "If there happen to be found an *irrelevant* expression." (*Preface to the Fables.*) This word Mr Sheridan has very properly inserted in his "Complete Dictionary of the English Language."

To notice is another phrase which belongs to Dr Beattie's list of Scoticisms. It is however employed by a respectable English grammarian: "Our great lexicographer has not *noticed* it." Nares, *Elements of Orthoepy*, p. 255. Lond. 1784, 8vo.) It is repeatedly used by the elegant Mr Roscoe. If we may credit Mr George Mason, it was "imported into English conversation from Ireland."

To restrict he also explodes as a Scoticism. "The studies at Pisa," says Mr Roscoe, "were chiefly *restricted* to the Latin language." (*Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 78.)

At six years old, may be inelegant English, but it ought not to have been inserted in a list of Scoticisms. This phrase is adopted by Lord Orrery: "*At six years old*, he was sent to school at Kilkenny." (*Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift*, p. 6.)

It is astonishing that Dr Beattie should have inserted the verbs *to liberate* and *to narrate*: they occur in such common books as the dictionaries of Bailey and Sheridan.

As a Scotish poet, Fergusson is to be ranked, not with Pennycuik and other writers of the same class, but with Ramsay, Ross, Burns, and Macneill. Though his mind was less comprehensive than that of Burns, and though he is in some measure a stranger to the delicacy which characterizes the beautiful productions of Macneill, yet in all the essential qualities which constitute a poet he is equal if not superior to Ramsay and Ross.

The popularity of his Scotish poems is a strong proof of their intrinsic merit. In that part of the island where their beauties are properly understood, few productions of a similar description have been so universally admired. They are redd by people of every denomination; and their native charms are such, that they cannot be redd without delight. They exhibit a spriteliness of thought and a facility of expression which have seldom been surpast. The versification is always smooth, and on some occasions highly melodious.

The following remark of Mr George Mason discovers his usual dexterity: "Though this verb *(to liberate)* and its derivative noun are now frequent in periodical publications of news, they are too modern to be found in any dictionary." *(Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary.* Lond. 1801, 4to.

In this supplement the writer has properly inserted the verb *to adduce:* but as its legitimacy has been questioned, he ought not to have relied on the authority of Dr Reid, a Scotish author. It is employed by an English writer of high reputation: "Muratori, in his treatise on the poetry of Italy, has accordingly *adduced* several of the sonnets of Lorenzo as examples of elegant composition." (Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 277.)

In the selection of idioms, the principal Scotish poets of modern times seem to have been chiefly regulated by local situation. The language of Burns and Macneill makes the nearest approach towards the purity of English; from which that of Ross is farest removed. The poems of the latter, as well as those of the ingenious Robert Forbes[k], are composed in the provincial tongue of Buchan; which is supposed to exhibit indubitable traces of the language of the ancient Picts. In the Scotish pieces of Fergusson the dialect peculiar to the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its immediate environs chiefly prevails. His phraseology differs from that of Ramsay, who intermingles the idiom of the metropolis and of his native province. "It is my opinion," says Dr Geddes, "that those who for almost a century past have written in Scots, Allan Ramsay not excepted, have not duly discriminated the genuine Scottish idiom from its vulgarisms. They seem to have acted a similar part with certain pretended imitators of Spenser and Milton, who fondly ima-

[k] See a publication entitled "Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Krabbs; from Ovid's Metam. lib. xiii. *Consedere duces, et vulgi stante corona*, &c attempted in broad Buchans by R. F. Gent. To which is added a Journal to Portsmouth, and a Shop-Bill, in the same dialect; with a Key." Edinb. 1765, 12mo. If we may credit Mr Chalmers, this pamphlet was first printed in 1754. (*Life of Ruddiman*, p. 259.) To the edition of 1765 the *Polemo-Middinia* is subjoined. The *Journal to Portsmouth* is written in prose. It appears from this publication that Forbes kept a hosier's shop on Tower-hill.

gine that they are copying from those great models, when they only mimic their antique mode of spelling, their obsolete terms, and their irregular construction[1]."

Of his serious compositions several possess distinguished merit. The odes addrest to the bee and to the *gowdspink* are no contemptible specimens of Scotish lyric poetry. They contain a due intermixture of picturesque description and well-turned moral reflection; and the versification often possesses much suavity.

The Farmer's Ingle is justly regarded as his most successful effort. Of its manifest beauties Burns seems to have been fully aware; it undoubtedly suggested to him the subject of his *Cotter's Saturday Night*. Each of these poems claims our decided approbation. The merit of an original design rests with Fergusson; but the praise of exciting the highest degree of interest is due to Burns. The characters of the persons whom he introduces are more strongly marked, and his incidents are more varied and striking.

Hallow Fair is a humorous poem of very considerable merit. It displays in a happy manner the scenes of noisy and riotous mirth in which a relaxation from labour is so apt to engage the lower ranks of society.

His poem entitled *Leith Races* is of the same class, but of superior ingenuity. The initial

[1] Geddes's Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect.

stanzas are picturesque and beautiful. He commences in the following manner:

In July month, ae bonny morn,
Whan Nature's rokelay green
Was spread o'er ilka rigg o' corn
To charm our roving e'en;
Glouring about I saw a quean,
The fairest 'neath the lift;
Her een were o' the siller sheen,
Her skin like snawy drift,
Sae white that day.

The nymph having addrest him, he thus rejoins:

An' wha are ye, my winsome dear,
That take the gate sae early?
Whare do ye win, gin ane may spear?
For I right mickle ferly,
That sic braw buskit laughing lass
Thir bonny blinks should gie,
An' loup like Hebe o'er the grass,
As wanton and as free
Frae dule this day.

This very engaging personage proves to be no other than Mirth; and in a very cordial manner they agree to proceed to the race-ground. He seems however to have treated the *laughing lass* with no great politeness: after having thus made her appearance, she is never again presented to our view. Expectation is excited, without being

gratified. *The Holy Fair* of Burns is liable to the same objection: and indeed the one production is evidently an antitype of the other. The exordium of *The Holy Fair* is as follows:

Upon a simmer Sunday morn,
When Nature's face is fair,
I walked forth to view the corn,
An' snuff the caller air.
The rising sun owre Galston muirs
Wi' glorious light was glintin;
The hares were hirplin down the furs,
The lav'rocks they were chantin
Fu' sweet that day.

As lightsomely I glowr'd abroad,
To see a scene sae gay,
Three hizzies, early at the road,
Cam skelpin up the way;
Twa had manteeles o' dolefu' black,
But ane wi' lyart lining;
The third, that gaed a wee a-back,
Was in the fashion shining,
Fu' gay that day.

Fergusson has not, like Montague, Erskine, and Jenner, presented us with a series of poetical essays under the title of *Town Eclogues*; but in lively descriptions of a town-life much of his merit will be found to consist. *Auld Reikie*, the longest as well as one of the best of his productions, is a profest delineation of those incidents, customs, and manners, which to a certain extent

are introduced into almost all his humorous poems in the Scotish dialect. It exhibits the general characteristics of his more successful efforts. The serious is blended with the gay in such a manner as to render the effect of the whole extremely ludicrous. It displays much acuteness of observation, and the happiest powers of humorous description.

"Caller Oysters," "Caller Water," "Braid Claith," "The Daft Days," and "The King's Birth-Day in Edinburgh," are pieces of humour which have always been redd with much pleasure. The last of these poems contains the following risible invocation:

O Muse! be kind, an' dinna fash us
To flee awa beyont Parnassus,
Nor seek for Helicon to wash us,
That heath'nish spring;
Wi' Highland whisky scour our hawses,
An' gar us sing.

Begin then, dame, ye've drunk your fill;
You woudna hae the tither gill?
You'll trust me, mair would do you ill,
An' ding you doited:
Troth, 'twould be sair against my will
To hae the wyte o't.

When we consider the circumstances in which he was placed, it will not appear surprising that his poems exhibit frequent instances of inaccuracy of thought, and incorrectness of expression.

Many faults might without difficulty be detected; but his compositions ought always to be treated with a certain degree of lenity. To apply the rigour of criticism to the unpremeditated effusions of such an author, would evince more zeal than good-nature.

> Carminis incompti tenuem lecture libellum,
> Pone supercilium.
> Seria contractis expende poemata rugis:
> Nos Thymelen sequimur.
> AUSONIUS.

Upon a general survey of Fergusson's poetical efforts, it will appear that he possessed quickness of conception and facility of expression. His compositions are the offspring of fancy rather than of imagination. Though they do not display those high powers of invention which characterize the works of vigorous genius, they yet exhibit such a spritely vein of poetry as will always recommend itself to the lovers of gaiety, humour, and Doric simplicity. He inherited from nature a strong sense of the ridiculous; his talent for delineating humorous and ludicrous scenes has very rarely been exceeded. In his descriptions of the various objects and occurrences connected with the metropolis of Scotland, he appears to the utmost advantage: many circumstances which a common observer would leave unregarded, he has presented to the mind in a novel and highly agreeable manner.

THE

LIFE

OF

ROBERT BURNS.

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AMONG the unfortunate sons of genius whom the present age has beheld descending into an untimely grave, we cannot hesitate in assigning a preëminent station to Robert Burns; a man whose native vigour of intellect elevated him far above the ordinary standard; a man whose lamentable deviations from the sober paths of life had almost degraded him to a level with the outcasts of society. To counterbalance his errors, he was unquestionably possest of noble virtues: and although it can never be justifiable to write an apology for vice, it may at least be deemed pardonable to offer some palliation for the backslidings of a man so fatally exposed to untoward accidents. Impartiality of judgment it can never be pre-

posterous to exercise; but rigid and unrelenting scrutiny is not the province of those who are aware of the general lot of humanity, and of their individual breaches of the multifarious duties which religion and morality impose.

Robert Burns was born on the twenty-fifth day of January[a], one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, in a small cottage situated at the distance of about two miles from the town of Ayr. His father, William Burns, Burnes, or Burness, was the son of a farmer in the county of Kincardine. The depression of circumstances into which the family had fallen, compelled William, together with Robert his elder brother, to abandon the place of his nativity, in the hope of experiencing a better fortune in some other part of the island. On the top of a hill in the vicinity of their native hamlet, the two youthful adventurers separated from each other, in an agony of mind which the uncertainty of their future destiny could not fail to produce. William was then in the nineteenth year of his age and possest of a degree of strength and skill sufficient to qualify him for the occupation of a gardener. Having for some time followed this employment at Edinburgh, he removed to the county of Ayr, where he found means to engage himself as gardener to the laird of Fairly. In the service of this gentleman he con-

[a] This date has been authenticated by the parish-register of Ayr. Dr Currie places his birth on the twenty-ninth of January.

tinued for the space of two years; and was next entertained in the same capacity by Crawford of Doonside. From Dr Campbell, a physician in Ayr, he afterwards took a perpetual lease of seven acres of land; which he proposed to convert into a public garden and nursery. Here he built with his own hands one of those clay edifices which the wilds of Scotland still present in sufficient abundance, and which are frequently constructed with some degree of internal elegance. In the year 1757 he married Agnes Brown, who bore him six children. Before he had reduced his ground to a proper state of cultivation, he was induced to engage himself as overseer and gardener to Mr Ferguson, who had purchased the estate of Doonholm. It was while he remained in this last situation that he saw himself the father of a son who was to reflect such distinguished lustre on the humble annals of his family.

In the sixth year of his age Robert was sent to a private school at Alloway Mill, situated at the distance of about a mile from his father's cottage. The teacher, whose name was Campbell, having within the space of a few months been appointed master of the work-house at Ayr, John Murdoch was engaged, by William Burns and some other heads of families, to supply his place. Under his tuition Robert and his younger brother Gilbert learned to read English with some degree of facility and correctness. They were likewise taught

to write, and were instructed in the elements of grammar. To his subsequent intercourse with Murdoch, Robert was considerably indebted. The preceptor, although his own education had been limited and incomplete, was a man of a liberal spirit. He exerted himself with friendly zeal in cherishing the opening genius of the little peasant; he supplied him with such books as his own library contained, and superintended his studies with unremitting assiduity. *The Life of Hannibal*, the first book which Burns perused except those commonly redd in country schools, was kindly furnished by Murdoch.

As he was still a very unskilful penman, his father sent him, when about thirteen years of age, to the parish-school of Dalrymple. Here the two brothers continued their attendance for a week alternately during a summer quarter. In 1772 John Murdoch, being one of five candidates, was appointed master of the English school of Ayr. During the following year Burns went to board and lodge at his house, for the purpose of being further instructed in the principles of grammar. Having remained about ten days, he was recalled to assist his father in the labours of the harvest; for notwithstanding his tender years, he could already perform the part of a man. After a short interval he returned to Ayr, and prosecuted his studies for the limited term of a fortnight. Murdoch, who was himself engaged in

learning the French language, was eager to communicate his recent knowledge to so interesting a pupil: and when Burns returned home, he persevered in the scheme with considerable diligence and success. He was now imboldened to attempt the acquisition of the Latin language without the aid of a master: but from this enterprize he soon desisted. A summer quarter which he afterwards spent at the parish-school of Kirkoswald, completes the enumeration of his scholastic education. In his curious letter to the late Dr Moore he thus describes the effects of his residence at Kirkoswald: "Another circumstance in my life which made some alteration in my mind and manners, was, that I spent my nineteenth summer on a smuggling coast, a good distance from home, at a noted school, to learn mensuration, surveying, dialling, &c. in which I made a pretty good progress. But I made a greater progress in the knowledge of mankind. The contraband trade was at that time very successful, and it sometimes happened to me to fall in with those who carried it on. Scenes of swaggering riot and roaring dissipation were till this time new to me, but I was no enemy to social life. Here, though I learnt to fill my glass, and to mix without fear in a drunken squabble, yet I went on with a high hand with my geometry; till the sun entered Virgo, a month which is always a carnival in my bosom, when a charming *fillette* who lived next

door to the school, overset my trigonometry, and set me off at a tangent from the sphere of my studies.---

" I returned home very considerably improved. My reading was enlarged with the very important addition of Thomson's and Shenstone's works; I had seen human nature in a new phasis; and I engaged several of my school-fellows to keep up a literary correspondence with me. This improved me in composition. I had met with a collection of letters by the wits of Queen Anne's reign, and I pored over them most devoutly. I kept copies of any of my own letters that pleased me, and a comparison between them and the composition of most of my correspondents, flattered my vanity. I carried this whim so far, that though I had not three farthings worth of business in the world, yet almost every post brought me as many letters as if I had been a broad plodding son of day-book and ledger."

In the year 1766 William Burns had obtained from Mr Ferguson a lease of the farm of Mount Oliphant in the parish of Ayr. To enable him to stock this farm, which consisted of upwards of eighty English acres, his patron generously advanced him a loan of one hundred pounds. He was at liberty to resign his lease at the expiration of every sixth year. Finding, after the first arrival of this term, that his farm was inadequate to the support of his family, he made a fruitless at-

tempt to form a more advantageous establishment of the same kind. At the end of the twelfth year he removed to Lochlea, a farm in the parish of Tarbolton. After having resided here for the space of several years, a misunderstanding arose between him and his landlord respecting the conditions of the lease: and as these had not according to the legal form been committed to writing, the impendent dispute was referred to arbitrators. The decision involved his affairs in ruin, which he however did not live to witness. He died at Lochlea on the thirteenth of February, 1784. His two sons have described him as a man of consummate virtue: and John Murdoch likewise mentions him in terms of unqualified approbation. "Agnes Brown," he remarks, "had the most thorough esteem for her husband, of any woman I ever knew. I can by no means wonder that she highly esteemed him; for I myself have always considered William Burns as by far the best of the human race that ever I had the pleasure of being acquainted with—and many a worthy character I have known." The following epitaph *For the Author's Father* occurs among the works of Burns:

O ye whose cheek the tear of pity stains,
Draw near with pious rev'rence and attend!
Here lie the loving husband's dear remains,
The tender father, and the gen'rous friend;

The pitying heart that felt for human woe;
The dauntless heart that fear'd no human pride;
The friend of man, to vice alone a foe;
"For ev'n his failings lean'd to virtue's side."

This estimable member of society had long struggled with the evils of life: and when his sons arrived at the years of reflection, they found themselves surrounded by many formidable difficulties. The situation of their father's affairs rendered it necessary to inure them to habits of hardy industry, in which it would have been fortunate for the elder if he had always persisted. The family entertained no hired servant, either male or female. At the age of thirteen Robert had begun to assist in the operation of threshing; and two years afterwards he was the principal labourer on the farm. To the hard labour and domestic sorrows of this early period of his life, we may in some measure impute the habitual melancholy to which he at length became subject.

His vigour however was unsubdued by these depressing circumstances: under every disadvantage he continued to cultivate the uncommon talents of which he was conscious. Although he still retained the character of a pious and industrious young man, he had already begun to display a strong bias towards convivial pleasures. His affections were warm and generous; and his

powers of conception as well as of communication were unrivalled in the circle where he was condemned to move. These qualifications prepared him for social enjoyment, and rendered his acquaintance highly acceptable. In the year 1780 he formed a kind of literary institution in the village of Tarbolton, consisting of himself, his brother Gilbert, and other five young men of the same condition in life. They afterwards admitted additional members; and, among the rest, David Sillar, who himself published a volume of poems in the Scotish dialect, and who is also known from Burns's two epistles. Some fragments of the book in which the members of the Bachelor's Club recorded their transactions, have fortunately been preserved: they exhibit sketches characteristic of the unfolding genius of Burns. The last article of their regulations is too remarkable to be omitted: "Every man proper for a member of this society, must have a frank honest open heart, above any thing dirty or mean; and must be a profest lover of one *or more* of the female sex. No haughty self-conceited person, who looks upon himself as superior to the rest of the club, and especially no mean-spirited worldly mortal whose only will is to heap up money, shall upon any pretence whatever be admitted. In short, the proper person for this society is a chearful honest-hearted lad; who, if he has a friend that is true, and a mistress that is kind, and as much wealth

as genteely to make both ends meet, is just as happy as this world can make him." The meeting of the club took place on the evening of every fourth monday: and the members were presented with an opportunity of exercising their powers of rational disquisition, as well as of indulging their social propensities. When Burns afterwards removed to the neighbourhood of Mauchline, he and his brother were requested to assist in the formation of another institution of the same nature. But the Bachelor's Club, when deprived of its most powerful member, was not long preserved from dissolution.

The two brothers had entered into the speculation of renting from their father a small plot of ground for the purpose of raising flax: and in order to render their plan more profitable, Robert formed the resolution of learning the trade of a flax-dresser. In 1781 he accordingly fixed his residence at Irvine, and carried his scheme into execution: but after he had persevered for about six months, the shop was accidentally set on fire while the flax-dressers were "giving a welcome carousal to the new year." This incident closed his operations as a mechanic.

The death of his father soon afterwards ensued. About this time he and his brother had taken the farm of Mossgiel near Mauchline, at the annual rent of ninety pounds. This spot they proposed to convert into an asylum for the dejected fami-

ly of their father. Each member lent his assistance towards the management of the rural or domestic affairs; and was allowed a proportion of the product in the form of stipulated wages. Robert received the annual sum of seven pounds: and such was his frugality at this period, that he never in a single instance suffered his expences to exceed his income. But his residence at Irvine had not contributed to increase his reverence for virtue: here he began to associate with companions whose manners were calculated to counteract the effects of those pious lessons which had been instilled into his mind. Among other intimates he numbered a young sailor of an interesting character, but of that laxity of moral principles which so frequently attaches itself to the profession. "I had pride before," says Burns, "but he taught it to flow in proper channels. His knowledge of the world was vastly superior to mine, and I was all attention to learn. He was the only man I ever saw who was a greater fool than myself, where woman was the presiding star; but he spoke of illicit love with the levity of a sailor, which hitherto I had regarded with horror. Here his friendship did me a mischief, and the consequence was, that soon after I resumed the plough, I wrote" *Rob the Rhymer's Welcome to his Bastard Child.* His father, fortunately for his domestic

peace, did not live to be acquainted with the deviation to which these expressions refer.

His susceptibility of the tender passion was extreme; and although occasionally the source of many high raptures, it as frequently exposed him to mortification and anguish. His love however was not of the true poetical cast; it did not tamely confine itself to one fair object, but ranged with somewhat of licentiousness through the pleasures of variety. It was during his residence at Mossgiel that he formed a connection with Jean Armour, his future wife. In the unrestrained ardour of youthful attachment, their intercourse became more familiar than the laws of religion and of society authorize. The effects of this intercourse were at length apparent. Burns was not in a condition to form a new domestic establishment; but his generous heart rendered him extremely solicitous to afford the only reparation which now remained within his reach. He accordingly presented her with *marriage-lines:* and proposing to leave her in the mean time to the protection of her parents, he declared his resolution of exiling himself to Jamaica till he should be enabled to place her in her proper station as his wife. When her parents however were apprized of her real situation, they expressed their strong disapprobation of the connection: and in the anguish of her mind she complied with their earnest entreaties to destroy

the documents of her matrimonial relation to Burns. This circumstance filled his mind with inexpressible agony. He avowed his willingness to remain at home and endeavour to provide for his family, should they prefer that measure to his becoming an adventurer in the West Indies: but even this proposal did not meet with the approbation of her circumspect parents; they still cherished a hope that notwithstanding her imprudence of conduct, she might afterwards form some more desirable connection. In this decision he was therefore under the necessity of acquiescing; but the misery occasioned by a separation under such circumstances as these, left him little relish for the scenes or avocations of his native country. He immediately engaged himself as an assistant overseer on the estate of a Dr Douglas in the island of Jamaica. He was not however master of a sum of money sufficient to defray the expences of the voyage; and the vessel in which his employer was to procure him a passage, was not ready for sea. While he yet lingered in his native land, he was persuaded by Mr Gavin Hamilton of Ayr to publish by subscription a collection of the poems with which he had already delighted his particular friends. "I weighed my productions," says Burns, "as impartially as was in my power; I thought they had merit; and it was a delicious idea that I should be called a clever fellow, even though it should

never reach my ears—a poor negro-driver—or perhaps a victim to that inhospitable clime, and gone to the world of spirits! I can truly say, that *pauvre inconnu* as I then was, I had pretty nearly as high an idea of myself and of my works, as I have at this moment, when the public has decided in their favour. It ever was my opinion that the mistakes and blunders both in a rational and religious point of view, of which we see thousands daily guilty, are owing to their ignorance of themselves. To know myself has been all along my constant study. I weighed myself alone; I balanced myself with others; I watched every means of information, to see how much ground I occupied as a man and as a poet: I studied assiduously nature's design in my formation; where the lights and shades of my character were intended. I was pretty confident my poems would meet with some applause; but at the worst, the roar of the Atlantic would deafen the voice of censure, and the novelty of West-Indian scenes make me forget neglect. I threw off six hundred copies, of which I had got subscriptions for about three hundred and fifty. My vanity was highly gratified by the reception I met with from the public; and besides, I pocketed, all expences deducted, nearly twenty pounds. This sum came very seasonably, as I was thinking of indenting myself, for want of money to procure my passage. As soon as I was master of nine guineas,

the price of wafting me to the torrid zone, I took a steerage passage in the first ship that was to sail from the Clyde." He describes himself as skulking at this time from covert to covert under all the terrors of a jail; with which he was threatened unless he should find legal security for the maintenance of his future progeny.

The volume was published at Kilmarnock in the year 1786, under the title of *Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect.* The impression was very speedily disperst; and the work was instantly recognized as a literary phenomenon. Amid his agricultural labours, Burns had cultivated his vigorous talents with wonderful assiduity and success: his native fire, unquenched by the chilling influence of his situation, had long been cherished in secret, and now began to blaze with a degree of splendour which astonished even the lettered class of his countrymen. The Rev. Dr Lawrie of Loudon had presented a copy of the poems to his friend Dr Blacklock; who in acknowledging the favour, expressed in very strong terms his admiration of the rustic poet: "Many instances have I seen of nature's force and beneficence, exerted under numerous and formidable disadvantages; but none equal to that with which you have been kind enough to present me. There is a pathos and delicacy in his serious poems, a vein of wit and humour in those of a more festive turn, which cannot be too much admired, nor

too warmly approved: and I think I shall never open the book without feeling my astonishment renewed and increased. It was my wish to have expressed my approbation in verse; but whether from declining life or a temporary depression of spirits, it is at present out of my power to accomplish that agreeable to my intention.----It has been told me by a gentleman, to whom I shewed the performances, and who sought a copy with diligence and ardour, that the whole impression is already exhausted. It were therefore much to be wished, for the sake of the young man, that a second edition, more numerous than the former, could immediately be printed; as it appears certain that its intrinsic merit, and the exertion of the author's friends, might give it a more universal circulation than any thing of the kind which has been published within my memory."

When Dr Blacklock's letter was communicated to Burns, it roused his literary ambition to a high pitch: and although he had already taken leave of his friends, yet he immediately abandoned his scheme of emigration, and proceeded without delay to the Scotish metropolis. Travelling on foot, he arrived at Edinburgh in the month of November, 1786. Mr Mackenzie contributed to procure him a favourable reception, by publishing in *The Lounger* an account of this Ayrshire plowman, with extracts from his poems.

He had already been introduced to Mr Stewart, and to the Earl of Glencairn. Dr Lawrie had furnished him with a letter of introduction to Dr Blacklock, a man of a cultivated taste, and of the most pure and active benevolence. By the exertions of such friends as these, Burns was speedily introduced into almost every literary or fashionable circle: and the expectations which he had previously excited, were invariably surpast on personal acquaintance. He experienced a welcome reception from Dr Robertson, Lord Monboddo, Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, Mr Mackenzie, Mr Fraser Tytler, and other men of talents and learning. Of the generous friendship of the Earl of Glencairn he always spoke in enthusiastic terms. At the suggestion of this nobleman he was patronized by the members of the Caledonian Hunt, and invited to bear a part in their gay carousals. He expressed his sensibility of their friendship by inscribing the enlarged edition of his poems to the association. This edition was printed at Edinburgh in the year 1787; and was circulated with uncommon rapidity.

Burns was now presented with opportunities of surveying human nature in a variety of aspects; and the solid and elastic powers of his understanding enabled him to improve every occasion which offered. Transported as he was into a scene entirely new, he was led to contemplate every object with all the eagerness of youth-

ful curiosity: he exerted his deep sagacity in appreciating the characters of his associates; he stored his imagination with a succession of fresh images; he found ample exercise for the warm and generous affections of his heart. His deportment, in whatever company he happened to find himself, was manly and becoming. His unfailing good sense supplied the deficiencies of education, and prevented him from being overwhelmed by the protuberances of artificial politeness.

It is remarked by Mr Stewart in his letter to the editor of Burns, that "the attentions he received during his stay in town from all ranks and descriptions of persons, were such as would have turned any head but his own. I cannot say that I could perceive any unfavourable effect which they left on his mind. He retained the same simplicity of manners and appearance which had struck me so forcibly when I first saw him in the country; nor did he seem to feel any additional self-importance from the number and rank of his new acquaintance. His dress was perfectly suited to his station, plain and unpretending, with a sufficient attention to neatness. If I recollect right, he always wore boots; and when on more than usual ceremony, buck-skin breeches."

The profits of his works having now enabled him to gratify his inclinations, he determined to

visit some of the pastoral and classic scenes of his native country. He accordingly left Edinburgh on the sixth of May, and, in company with Mr Ainslie one of his new friends, proceeded on horseback towards the banks of the Tweed. During his excursion he was introduced to several men of literature and fashion; and among the rest, to Mr Brydone the traveller, and to Dr Somerville of Jedburgh, whom he describes as "a man, and a gentleman, but sadly addicted to punning." At Jedburgh he was presented with the freedom of the town. Having proceeded as far as Newcastle, he returned homeward by the counties of Cumberland and Dumfries, and rejoined his relations after an absence of six eventful months. After halting a few days, he revisited Edinburgh, whence he immediately proceeded on a tour to the Highlands. Returning to Mossgiel, he spent the month of July in the society of his friends. In August he again visited the metropolis. Accompanied by Mr Adair, now Dr Adair of Harrowgate, he speedily began another excursion to the Highlands. When they reached Dunfermline, Burns hastened to pay his devotions at the tomb of a favourite hero. "In the church-yard," says Dr Adair, "two broad flag-stones mark the grave of Robert Bruce, for whose memory Burns had more than common veneration. He knelt and kissed the stone with sacred fervour, and heartily (*suus ut mos erat*) ex-

ecrated the worse than Gothic neglect of the first of Scottish heroes."

His curiosity was yet unsatisfied: in the month of September he again set out from Edinburgh, and returned to visit the romantic scenery of he Highlands. The companion of his journey was William Nicoll, one of the masters of the High School, a man of vigorous intellect and of a strong bias to convivial pleasures, with whom he had contracted an intimacy which was only terminated by his death. At Athole-house Burns was hospitably entertained by the noble family. Of his behaviour during this visit, Mr Walker of Perth has exhibited a characteristic delineation: "My curiosity was great to see how he would conduct himself in company so different from what he had been accustomed to. His manner was unembarrassed, plain, and firm. He appeared to have compleat reliance on his own native good sense for directing his behaviour. He seemed at once to perceive and to appreciate what was due to the company and to himself, and never to forget a proper respect for the separate species of dignity belonging to each. He did not arrogate conversation, but, when let into it, he spoke with ease, propriety, and manliness. He tried to exert his abilities, because he knew it was ability alone gave him a title to be there. The duke's fine young family attracted much of his admiration; he drank their healths as *honest*

men and bonnie lassies, an idea which was much applauded by the company."

After a more extended excursion than he had formerly taken, he returned to the Scotish metropolis. Here he spent the greater part of the ensuing winter: and the scenes in which he was frequently engaged did not tend to confirm his early habits of temperance. His company was eagerly courted by people of every denomination. In whatever society he mingled, he never failed to leave a deep impression of his powerful talents.

On the last day of December he joined a select party assembled for the purpose of celebrating the birth-day of Charles Edward Stewart, the unfortunate representative of a long series of Scotish kings. The greater part of the members of which this annual association was then composed, were by no means suspected of disaffection to the reigning family: they assembled to gratify their national pride in recounting the hardihood of their forefathers, and to indulge their softer feelings in contemplating the fate of those gallant men who had so strenuously supported a cause which they deemed not inglorious. The character of the prince himself was long recollected in Scotland with a degree of affection which his adverse fortune had contributed to foster. Whatever might be the political opinions of his present associates Burns was in reality a hearty Jacobite: and on this occa-

sion he voluntarily produced a lyric poem, in which his favourite sentiments were not suppressed.

In the month of February, 1788, he procured a settlement with his bookseller in Edinburgh; and, after defraying all the expences which he had lately incurred, found himself in possession of nearly five hundred pounds. To his brother Gilbert[b], who still retained the farm of Mossgiel, he immediately advanced a loan of two hundred: and with the residue he now proposed to form some permanent establishment for himself. As he still professed to adhere to his original occupation, Mr Miller of Dalswinton, ambitious of becoming the landlord of such a tenant, had invited him in the spring of 1787 to survey his estate in Nithsdale, for the purpose of selecting a farm adapted to his own taste and circumstances. This gentleman, with due liberality, offered him the choice of any of his farms which were not previously attached by leases; and left the annual rent to be appreciated by Burns and such of his friends as he might consult. After more than usual deliberation, he selected that of Ellisland, situated on the banks of the river Nith, at the distance of six miles from Dumfries. He

b This very intelligent and respectable man is now a farmer in East-Lothian.—"My brother," says the poet, "wanted my hair-brained imagination, as well as my social and amorous madness; but in good sense, and every sober qualification, he was far my superior."

entered on his lease at the term of Whitsunday, 1788.

Burns, it will be recollected, had been prevented from marrying Jean Armour by the prudential schemes of her parents. The pains of separation he had felt with excessive keenness: and his mind was tormented with bitter reflections till he had accomplished his original intention. Of the progress of his intercourse he speaks in the following terms: "When she first found herself 'as women wish to be who love their lords;' as I loved her nearly to distraction, we took steps for a private marriage. Her parents got the hint; and not only forbade me her company and their house, but on my rumoured West Indian voyage, got a warrant to put me in jail, till I should find security in my about-to-be paternal relation. You know my lucky reverse of fortune. On my eclatant return to Mauchline, I was made very welcome to visit my girl. The usual consequences began to betray her; and as I was at that time laid up a cripple in Edinburgh, she was turned, literally turned out of doors, and I wrote to a friend to shelter her, till my return, when our marriage was declared. Her happiness or misery were in my hands; and who could trifle with such a deposit?

"I can readily *fancy* a more agreeable companion for my journey of life, but, upon my honor, I have never *seen* the individual instance."

He now formed the resolution of abandoning the dissipated mode of life in which he had lately indulged, and of preparing himself for the strenuous discharge of the duties which had devolved upon him. His first undertaking was to rebuild the dwelling house on his farm; and in the progress of the work he occasionally resumed the occupation of a labourer, without experiencing any diminution of the strength or dexterity by which he had formerly been distinguished. The ardour however which he now displayed, did not long continue to animate his exertions: his mind had in a great measure been devested of its early habits of adaptation; and, whatever flattering prospects might have presented themselves to his imagination, he soon found that agriculture and happiness are not inseparably connected. The attractions of his wit and social qualities ultimately effected his ruin. Such of his neighbours as professed to admire that species of excellence of which he could boast, were eager to number him among their associates; and the various temptations which thus allured him, he was but indifferently prepared to resist. The occupations of a farmer speedily lost their charms; and the next speculation by which he endeavoured to improve his condition, was still less adapted to the delicate feelings of a poetical mind. In the year 1786 he had hinted an intention of requesting employment from the board of excise; and

Sir John Whiteford, whom he commemorates as "the first gentleman in the country whose benevolence and goodness of heart had been interested for him, unsolicited and unknown," had liberally offered his services in promoting the poet's success in that or any other department. Mr Alexander Wood, who attended him at Edinburgh during his confinement in consequence of a fracture or dislocation, had made zealous application to the board as soon as he was apprized of his project: and the name of Burns had immediately been enrolled in the list of expectants[c]. After his removal to Ellisland he solicited employment; and by the intervention of Mr Graham of Fintry, with whom he had become acquainted at Athole-house, he was nominated for the district in which he had fixed his residence. This was the prelude to his subsequent misfortunes. "His farm," says one of his biographers, "was after this, in a great measure abandoned to servants, while he betook himself to the duties of his new appointment. He might indeed still be seen in the spring, directing his plough, a labour in which he excelled; or with a white sheet containing his seed-corn slung across his shoulders, striding with measured steps, along his turned up furrows, and scattering the grain in the earth. But his farm no longer occupied the principal part of his care

[c] Heron's Memoir of the Life of the late Robert Burns, p. 33. Edinb. 1797, 8vo.

or his thoughts. It was not at Ellisland that he was now in general to be found. Mounted on horseback, this high-minded poet was pursuing the defaulters of the revenue, among the hills and vales of Nithsdale, his roving eye wandering over the charms of nature, and 'muttering his wayward fancies' as he moved along."

With the more adventurous part of his duty the lofty spirit of Burns seems to have been sufficiently delighted. What feats of valour he performed, I know not; but he seems to have prepared himself for dangerous exploits. When he exclaims in one of his songs, "I hae a gude braid sword," we are to understand him literally. In the summer of 1791 two gentlemen who came to visit him, found the poetical exciseman in a warlike trim: on his head he wore a cap made of a fox's skin; and from a belt which served to confine the wandering of a loose great-coat, depended an enormous claymore. In this garb he stood on a rock that projects into the Nith, and amused himself with angling.

In the mean time his poetical recreations were not totally abandoned. Several of the songs which he composed about this period, were inserted in Johnson's *Scots Poetical Museum*.

These pursuits had no tendency to improve his fortune. That part of his domestic economy which devolved on Mrs Burns, was conducted with singular prudence; but on his side, there

were too many deficiencies. After having remained at Ellisland for three years and a half, he found it expedient to resign his farm. It was towards the close of the year 1791 that he removed to a small house in Dumfries. His hopes of preferment were still sanguine: and in the mean time he proposed to support himself and his family by his emolument as a simple excise-man; which had lately been advanced to seventy pounds a year.

Till he fixed his residence in Dumfries, his irregularities, though by no means unfrequent, had not become inveterately habitual: the temptations however to which he was now exposed, proved too powerful for his better impressions; after various struggles against the stream of dissipation which was gradually surrounding him, he at length suffered himself to be rapidly carried along by its fatal current. A large proportion of the more genteel or more idle inhabitants of Dumfries consists of men connected with the profession of law: and in some of these, as well as in other inhabitants of the town and its vicinity, Burns found associates from whom it was not to be expected that he should learn sobriety. The fame of his literary character also exposed him to the company of every stranger who professed a respect for poetry. As their interviews commonly took place in taverns, his familiarity with riotous excess was daily increasing. In the

midst of such distractions, it must have been impossible for him to discharge the duties of his office with that regularity which is almost indispensible.

His preferment was also retarded by another circumstance. About this period the attention of Europe was ardently roused by those astonishing events that had befallen in a country to which Britain has always directed her eyes. The revolution in France had presented new prospects to the friends of humanity and to the lovers of rapine: one class of speculators hoped that the reign of philosophy had already commenced; another was convinced that a glorious scene of action was opening for those who might otherwise have lived and died in villainous obscurity. In Britain the event was eagerly hailed by many benevolent and enlightened men, who predicted the happiest consequences, not only to France in particular, but ultimately to the numerous states of Europe. The extravagance of their first impressions they have at length found themselves compelled to moderate: they have found that of all civilized countries, France is the least calculated for realizing any scheme of rational liberty; that her professions with regard to the disinterested promotion of the general welfare of mankind are hollow, deceitful, and even ridiculous; and that the levity of the national character is so inveterate as to leave no solid grounds of consolatory or

pleasing hope with respect to her own internal regulations. They who still persit in contemplating France as the future parent of European freedom, must certainly have approached the brink of insanity.

Burns was one of those who openly rejoiced at the apparent emancipation of so large a proportion of the human species. His feelings were naturally violent; and the stimulus of intoxication inevitably increased his imprudence of speech. They who admitted the principles and applauded the exertions of the French politicians, were generally led to entertain extravagant schemes of premature reformation in the constitution of their native country. The flame of innovation was widely kindled; but its lustre was obscured by a cloud of smoke. In the administration of the British government, Burns perceived or fancied he perceived multifarious abuses; nor did he hesitate to declaim with unbriddled freedom concerning the urgent necessity of a radical reformation. But at the total overthrow of a political constitution so beautiful in theory, and so tolerable in practice, it cannot be supposed that his wildest wishes ever aimed. In his common-place book, which he could not expect to be perused by others till after his decease, he has exprest himself in the following terms: "Whatever might be my sentiments of republics, ancient or modern, as to Britain, I ever abjured the idea. A con-

stitution which in its original principles experience has proved to be every way fitted for our happiness, it would be insanity to abandon for an untried visionary theory." Surmizes however, which he indeed had not been sufficiently careful to prevent, were ungenerously propagated to his disadvantage: and the board of excise deemed it necessary to appoint a superior officer to investigate his conduct. In an eloquent letter addrest to one of their number, he exculpated himself with becoming dignity from the charges which had been preferred against him: and the officer who had been commissioned to institute a formal enquiry, could discover no substantial grounds of accusation. Mr Graham of Fintry, in whom he had always found a steady and zealous friend, was ready on the present occasion to secure him from the threatened consequences of his imprudence. Of imprudence he was undoubtedly guilty: and the board, although they suffered him to retain his present office, sent him an intimation that his advancement must now be determined by his future behaviour.

These occurrences did not fail of producing deep mortification: from this period his prospects must have appeared sufficiently gloomy; and his late conduct was exaggerated with all the decorations of malevolent stupidity. It was even reported that he had been dismist from his office: and in consequence of this erroneous intelligence,

some gentleman of great respectability proposed a subscription for the relief of his present necessities. This benevolent offer he declined with that native dignity of mind which might have been expected from a man of genius. In the letter which conveyed his acknowledgments, he also took occasion to allude to the reports which had been industriously circulated to his prejudice. "The partiality of my countrymen," says the indignant bard, "has brought me forward as a man of genius, and has given me a character to support. In the poet I have avowed manly and independent sentiments, which I hope have been found in the man. Reasons of no less weight than the support of a wife and children have pointed out my present occupation as the only elegible line of life within my reach. Still my honest fame is my dearest concern, and a thousand times have I trembled at the idea of the degrading epithets that malice or misrepresentation may affix to my name. Often in blasting anticipation have I listened to some future hackney scribbler, with the heavy malice of savage stupidity, exultingly asserting that Burns, notwithstanding the *fanfaronnade* of independence to be found in his works, and after having been held up to public view, and to public estimation, as a man of some genius, yet, quite destitute of resources within himself to support his borrowed dignity, dwindled into a paultry exciseman, and slunk out the rest

of his insignificant existence in the meanest pursuits, and among the lowest of mankind.

"In your illustrious hands, Sir, permit me to lodge my strong disavowal of such slanderous falsehoods. Burns was a poor man from his birth, and an exciseman by necessity: but—I *will* say it, the sterling of his honest worth poverty could not debase, and his independent British spirit oppression might bend, but could not subdue."

In 1795 he exhibited public proofs of his loyalty; he enrolled himself among the Dumfries volunteers, and by his poetical effusions endeavoured to incite them to patriotic exertion.

Notwithstanding his increasing habits of dissipation, he still devoted some of his more rational hours to the composition of poetry: but his productions had now begun to assume a deeper tinge from the altered character of the author. During this year the editor of a London newspaper, by offering him an annual recompense of fifty-two guineas, endeavoured to obtain from him a weekly contribution to the poetical department. But in this proposal he could not be induced to acquiesce; though such a supply would have been found no superfluous addition to his scanty provision.

About this period he began to present indications of declining health: and although his appetite was still unimpaired, he seems to have

been aware of the gradual approach of dissolution. Of the madness of his late career he was deeply sensible, but was now without the power of retreat. His constitution was deprived of its native energies, and could only be preserved from overwhelming languor by the aid of stimulant liquors. In this deplorable state of body as well as of mind, he was eager to avoid the pangs of solitary reflection, and was even incapable of relishing domestic or rational society. He rushed into the company of men whom in his purer days he would have despised and shunned; he degraded his noble faculties to so mean a level, that many of his earlier friends became half-ashamed of having contracted such an intimacy. From the shelter of his domestic retreat he was not however expelled by the upbraidings of the still-affectionate object of his youthful attachment: whatever errors he might himself be conscious of having committed, the bitterness of remorse was not augmented by her murmurs or complaints. Often did he acknowledge his numerous breaches of the duties of a husband and a father: and her promptitude to forgive his offences was undiminished by the frequency of their repetition. His penetential declarations were accompanied by promises of amendment; but the task of reformation being still deferred till some future day, his habits gradually became more pernicious.

From the month of October to that of January he was confined to his house by an accidental complaint. He had scarcely begun to venture abroad, when with his usual imprudence he dined at a tavern, and suffered himself to fall into intoxication. Returning home about three o'clock in the ensuing morning, he found himself siezed with a numbness, which was soon followed by an attack of rheumatism. He now exhibited symptoms of the most alarming kind: and, contrary to the hope of his friends, the return of summer produced no favourable change in his sinking constitution. Towards the close of June he was advised to try the influence of country air. His medical biographer, who represents him as impatient of medical advice, and of every species of controul, informs us that he determined for himself to have recourse to the simple remedy of sea-bathing [d]. He accordingly hastened to the village of Brow, situated on the shore of Solway Firth at the distance of about ten miles from Dumfries. His ingenious friend Mrs Riddell was at this time residing in the immediate vicinity. When informed of his arrival, she sent him an invitation to dinner, and accompanied it with her own carriage to convey him over the short tract which lay

d This assertion is however contradicted by a passage in one of his own letters: "The medical folks tell me that my last and only chance is bathing, and country-quarters, and riding." (Burns's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 468.)

between them. Of their interview she soon afterwards communicated a circumstantial account to one of her friends: and an extract from her letter will serve to delineate the real sentiments of Burns during this melancholy crisis of his life: "We had a long and serious conversation about his present situation, and the approaching termination of all his earthly prospects. He spoke of his death without any of the ostentation of philosophy, but with firmness as well as feeling—as an event likely to happen very soon, and which gave him concern chiefly from leaving his four children so young and unprotected, and his wife in so interesting a situation—in hourly expectation of lying in of a fifth. He mentioned, with seeming pride and satisfaction, the promising genius of his eldest son, and the flattering marks of approbation he had received from his teachers, and dwelt particularly on his hopes of that boy's future conduct and merit. His anxiety for his family seemed to hang heavy upon him, and the more perhaps from the reflection that he had not done them all the justice he was so well qualified to do. Passing from this subject, he shewed great concern about the care of his literary fame, and particularly the publication of his posthumous works. He said he was well aware that his death would occasion some noise, and that every scrap of his writing would be revived against him to the injury of his future reputation; that letter

and verses written with improper freedom, and which he earnestly wished to have buried in oblivion, would be handed about by idle vanity or malevolence, when no dread of his resentment would restrain them, or prevent the censures of shrill-tongued malice, or the insidious sarcasms of envy, from pouring forth all their venom to blast his fame.

" He lamented that he had written many epigrams on persons against whom he entertained no enmity, and whose characters he should be sorry to wound; and many indifferent poetical pieces, which he feared would now, with all their imperfections on their head, be thrust upon the world. On this account he deeply regretted having deferred to put his papers into a state of arrangement, as he was now quite incapable of the exertion."

From sea-bathing Burns derived no permanent relief: it had indeed the effect of alleviating the rheumatical pains which he had felt in his limbs; but this flattering symptom was immediately followed by a fresh attack of fever. His misery was increased by the state of his pecuniary affairs; and the horrors of a jail frequently haunted his distempered imagination. In a letter dated July the twelfth, 1796, he thus addresses himself to Mr George Thomson: " After all my boasted independence, curst necessity compels me to implore you for five pounds. A cruel * * * * of a

haberdasher to whom I owe an account, taking it into his head that I am dying, has commenced a process, and will infallibly put me into jail. Do, for God's sake, send me that sum, and that by return of post. Forgive me this earnestness, but the horrors of a jail have made me half distracted. I do not ask all this gratuitously; for upon returning health, I hereby promise and engage to furnish you with five pounds worth of the neatest song genius you have seen." Burns had supplied Mr Thomson with many beautiful songs for the collection which he was then preparing to publish. This gentleman was unwilling that his friend should labour without recompense, and on one occasion had ventured to send him a pecuniary present; but the mode in which it was received, had deterred him from renewing a similar offer.

On the eighteenth of July Burns was removed to his own house. His debility was now so much increased, that he was unable to stand upright. He lingered a few days longer in a state of miserable depression, which was occasionally succeeded by phrenzy; and at length expired on the twenty-first day of the month. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The glaring follies of the man were now forgotten, and the premature and melancholy fate of the poet was alone remembered: his death excited the deepest regret in a very numerous class

of his countrymen. It only remained to discharge the last debt of affection. The Dumfries volunteers resolved to inter their lamented companion with all the mournful solemnity of military honours: the Cinque Ports cavalry together with the Angus-shire fencibles also offered their services on the occasion; and the principal inhabitants of the town and its vicinity determined to join the funeral procession. On the evening of the twenty-fifth of July his remains were conveyed from his own house, and lodged in the town-hall; and on the ensuing day, were borne to the place of interment amidst a vast concourse of spectators. His hat and sword were placed on the coffin. From the town-hall to the burial-ground, an extent of more than half a mile, the streets were lined by the fencible cavalry and infantry. The procession was commenced by a party of volunteers selected for performing the military duty at the grave of their companion: around his corpse, which was supported by some of their number, the rest of his fellow soldiers had arranged themselves with due solemnity; and the train was closed by a promiscuous crowd of mourners. The party in the front moved onward with their arms reversed; and the motion of the procession was regulated by the thrilling tones of the dead march. His body being committed to the earth, three vollies were fired over his grave. The unrestrained sorrow of the numerous spectators was a noble

tribute of affectionate regard for the memory of departed genius.

The affliction of his widow may readily be conceived. Her situation was rendered more interesting by the circumstances in which she was placed at this melancholy crisis: in the morning she had been overtaken by the pains of labour; and during the solemn service of her husband's funeral, she became the parent of another child. This forlorn little stranger soon followed his father to the grave.

The second of his surviving sons died in 1803. The eldest, a young man of singular promise, is a student in the University of Glasgow; the third has been placed in Christ's Hospital; the youngest is still under the immediate care of his mother. These three are the only legitimate children of Burns who now survive; but a little impostor has lately made an attempt to enrol himself among their number. In the year 1802 a young man, who is reported to be the son of a taylor in Stirling, found means to introduce himself into several of the London circles as the eldest son of the poet.

Burns, as must already have appeared, died in extreme poverty; but he was so fortunate as to leave his widow unincumbered with debts. The prudence of his wife was exemplary; and his native independence of mind never deserted him. "Even in the midst of distress," we are informed,

" he bore himself loftily to the world, and received with a jealous reluctance every offer of friendly assistance." The profit of his works amounted to about nine hundred pounds. For the two hundred which he had advanced to his excellent brother, obligations were found at the time of his death. For the benefit of his family, a play was performed at the Edinburgh theatre; and a subscription was opened in some of the principal towns of Great Britain. These contributions, added to the sum arising from the final disposal of the copy-right of his poems and letters, have placed them in a state of comparative affluence.

The character of Burns has been drawn with sufficient accuracy by Dr Currie; from whom I shall borrow what appears most material. " Burns, as has already been mentioned, was nearly five feet ten inches in height, and of a form that indicated agility as well as strength. His well-raised forehead shaded with black curling hair, indicated extensive capacity. His eyes were large, dark, full of ardour and intelligence. His face was well formed; and his countenance uncommonly interesting and expressive. His mode of dressing, which was often slovenly, and a certain fulness and bend in his shoulders, characteristic of his original profession, disguised in some degree the natural symmetry and elegance of his form. The external appearance of Burns, was most strikingly indicative of the character of his mind. On a

first view, his physiognomy had a certain air of coarseness, mingled however with an expression of deep penetration, and of calm thoughtfulness approaching to melancholy. There appeared in his first manner and address perfect ease and self-possession, but a stern and almost supercilious elevation, not indeed incompatible with openness and affability, which however bespoke a mind conscious of superior talents. Strangers that supposed themselves approaching an Ayrshire peasant, who could make rhymes, and to whom their notice was an honour, found themselves speedily overawed by the presence of a man who bore himself with dignity, and who possessed a singular power of correcting forwardness and of repelling intrusion. But though jealous of the respect due to himself, Burns never enforced it where he saw it was willingly paid; and though inaccessible to the approaches of pride, he was open to every advance of kindness and of benevolence. His dark and haughty countenance easily relaxed into a look of good-will, of pity, or of tenderness; and as the various emotions succeeded each other in his mind, assumed with equal ease the expression of the broadest humour, of the most extravagant mirth, or of the most sublime emotion. The tones of his voice happily corresponded with the expression of his features, and with the feelings of his mind. When to these endowments were added, a rapid and distinct apprehension, a

most powerful understanding, and a happy command of language—of strength as well as brilliancy of expression—we shall be able to account for the extraordinary attractions of his conversation—for the sorcery which in his social parties he seemed to exert on all around him. In the company of women this sorcery was more especially apparent. Their presence charmed the fiend of melancholy in his bosom, and awoke his happiest feelings; it excited the powers of his fancy, as well as the tenderness of his heart; and by restraining the vehemence and the exuberance of his language, at times gave to his manners the impression of taste, and even of elegance, which in the company of men they seldom possessed. This influence was doubtless reciprocal. A Scottish lady, accustomed to the best society, declared with characteristic *naiveté*, that no man's conversation ever *carried her so completely off her feet* as that of Burns; and an English lady, familiarly acquainted with several of the most distinguished characters of the present times, assured the editor, that in the happiest of his social hours, there was a charm about Burns which she had never seen equalled. This charm arose not more from the power than the versatility of his genius. No languor could be felt in the society of a man who passed at pleasure from *grave to gay*, from the ludicrous to the pathetic, from the simple to the sublime; who wielded all his faculties with equal

strength and ease, and never failed to impress the offspring of his fancy with the stamp of his understanding.

" This indeed is to represent Burns in his happiest phasis. In large and mixed parties, he was often silent and dark, sometimes fierce and overbearing; he was jealous of the proud man's scorn, jealous to an extreme of the insolence of wealth, and prone to avenge, even on its innocent possessor, the partiality of fortune. By nature kind, brave, sincere, and in a singular degree compassionate, he was on the other hand proud, irascible, and vindictive. His virtues and his failings had their origin in the extraordinary sensibility of his mind, and equally partook of the chills and glows of sentiment. His friendships were liable to interruption from jealousy or disgust, and his enmities died away under the influence of pity or self-accusation. His understanding was equal to the other powers of his mind, and his deliberate opinions were singularly candid and just; but like other men of great and irregular genius, the opinions which he delivered in conversation were often the offspring of temporary feelings, and widely different from the calm decisions of his judgment. This was not merely true respecting the characters of others, but in regard to some of the most important points of human speculation.

" On no subject did he give a more striking proof of the strength of his understanding, than

in the correct estimate he formed of himself. He knew his own failings; he predicted their consequence; the melancholy foreboding was never long absent from his mind; yet his passions carried him down the stream of error, and swept him over the precipice he saw directly in his course[c]."

On the death of Burns many poems have been composed, with different degrees of ability. Mr Roscoe, a writer of merited reputation, has among others exerted his poetical talents on this melancholy occasion.

In the year 1800 an edition of "The Works of Robert Burns" was printed at Liverpool in four volumes octavo. The first volume is occupied by a diffuse life of Burns, written by the editor Dr James Currie, a Scotish physician residing in that town. The correspondence of Burns includes letters to or from Dr Moore, Dr Blacklock, Dr Gregory, Dr Blair, Mr Stewart, Mr Fraser Tytler, Mr Alison, and Mr Smellie. His own letters are not less remarkable than his poems. His prose however is somewhat deficient in ease and simplicity: he is generally too ambitious of brilliant thoughts and expressions.

His suspicions with respect to the fate of his posthumous works have been completely justified; several of his compositions, unworthy of the author, and offensive to decency, have lately been

[c] Currie's Life of Burns, p. 232.

offered to the public. An octavo collection entitled "Poems ascribed to Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Bard, not contained in any edition of his Works hitherto published," proceeded from the Glasgow press in the year 1801. In 1802 a small collection of "Letters addressed to Clarinda, by Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Poet," was published at Glasgow in duodecimo.

Burns was possest of a versatility and strength of genius which might have conducted him to eminence in any department of science or literature. His senses were acute; his affections warm and generous: his imagination was vivid and excursive; his judgment prompt and penetrating. His poetry is the effusion of a vigorous and susceptible mind powerfully affected by the objects of its contemplation. The external beauties of nature, the pleasures and disappointments of love, the characteristics of the peasant's fate, the ridiculous features of hypocrisy and superstition, furnish the principal subjects on which he has exercised his bold and original talents. Most of the occasions which awakened his poetical powers were not fictitious but real; and his sentiments and language are generally those of a man who obeys the strong impulses of unsophisticated feeling. Although he laboured under the disadvantages of a very imperfect education, yet some circumstances of his early life were not altogether

unfavourable to the nurture of a poetical genius. The peculiarity of his fate tended to impress every sentiment more deeply on his mind, and to familiarize him with the habits of profound meditation. The lessons which his father taught him, were those of piety, virtue, and independence; lessons which are scarcely of less importance to the poet than to the man. His early years were indeed consumed in depressing toil; but even while the young peasant was following the plough, his intellectual eye was fixed on immortality. Many of his poems were composed during the hours when he was actually engaged in manual labour: his native energy was unsubdued by illiberal toil, by perpetual mortification, and by his total seclusion from that intercourse which is most calculated to fan the sparks of generous emulation. "This kind of life," says Burns, "the cheerless gloom of a hermit, with the unceasing moil of a galley-slave, brought me to my sixteenth year; a little before which period I first committed the sin of rhyme." Love, he informs us, was the original source of his poetry: "I never had the least thought or inclination of turning poet till I got once heartily in love; and then rhyme and song were in a manner the spontaneous language of my heart."

His principal models of composition were Ramsay and Fergusson. In his letter to Dr Moore, he remarks that he had nearly abandon-

ed poetry, when in his twenty-third year having become acquainted with the works of Fergusson, he "strung a-new his wildly-sounding lyre with emulating vigour." Of classical learning he was totally destitute; and it is not apparent that he was much indebted to his knowledge of the French language. With the best English writers he was however sufficiently conversant: he redd them with avidity, and for the most part with wonderful discernment. Nor was he altogether unacquainted with science: he had at least studied Euclid, Locke, and Smith; he redd and understood Mr Alison's *Essays on the Principles of Taste*[f].

The most beautiful of his poems are professedly written in the Scotish dialect: but in general they are not deeply tinctured with provincial idioms; many of the stanzas are almost purely English. His verses, though not very polished or melodious, are commonly distinguished by an air of originality which atones for every deficiency. His rhymes are often imperfect, and his expressions indelicate; he passes from ease to negligence, and from simplicity to coarseness. But these peculiarities we may ascribe to his early habits of association.

[f] The compendious eulogium which Scipio Gentilis has bestowed on Philippe de Commines, is equally applicable to Burns: "Sine literis doctissimus supra ipsos philosophos." *(In Apulei Apologiam Commentarius, p. 27.)*

The poems of Burns, though most remarkable for the quality of humour, exhibit various instances of the true sublime: the vigour of his imagination, and the soundness of his understanding, enabled him to attain a variety of excellence which can only be traced in the productions of original genius. Some of his subjects are sufficiently mean; but he never fails to illumine them with brilliant flashes of intellect. His flights however are sudden and irregular: the strong impulses of his mind were not sufficiently chastened and directed by the wholesome discipline of the schools. His compositions, however beautiful in detached parts, are very often defective in their general plan.

The most exquisite of his serious poems is *The Cotter's Saturday Night*. The characters and incidents which the poet here describes in so interesting a manner, are such as his father's cottage presented to his observation; they are such as may every where be found among the virtuous and intelligent peasantry of Scotland. "I recollect once he told me," says Professor Stewart, "when I was admiring a distant prospect in one of our morning walks, that the sight of so many smoking cottages gave a pleasure to his mind, which none could understand who had not witnessed like himself, the happiness and the worth which they contained." With such impresions as these upon his mind, he has succeed-

ed in delineating a charming picture of rural innocence and felicity. The incidents are well selected, the characters skilfully distinguished, and the whole composition is remarkable for the propriety and sensibility which it displays. To transcribe every beautiful passage which the poem contains, would be to transcribe almost every stanza: the following may be selected on account of its moral as well as its poetical effect:

But hark! a rap comes gently to the door!
Jenny, wha kens the meaning o' the same,
Tells how a neebor lad cam o'er the moor,
To do some errands, and convoy her hame.
The wily mother sees the conscious flame
Sparkle in Jenny's e'e, and flush her cheek;
With heart-struck anxious care, enquires his name,
While Jenny hafflins is afraid to speak;
Weel pleas'd the mother hears, it's nae wild worthless rake.

Wi' kindly welcome Jenny brings him ben:
A strappan youth, he taks the mother's eye;
Blythe Jenny sees the visit's no ill ta'en;
The father cracks of horses, pleughs, and kye.
The youngster's artless heart o'erflows wi' joy;
But blate and laithfu', scarce can weel behave:
The mother, wi' a woman's wiles can spy
What makes the youth sae bashfu' an' sae grave;
Weel pleas'd to think her bairn's respected like the lave.

O happy love! where love like this is found!
O heart-felt raptures! bless beyond compare!
I've paced much this weary mortal round,
And sage Experience bids me this declare:

" If heaven a draught of heavenly pleasure spare,
One cordial in this melancholy vale,
'Tis when a youthful, loving, modest pair,
In others' arms breathe out the tender tale,
Beneath the milk-white thorn that scents the ev'ning gale."

Is there, in human form, that bears a heart—
A wretch! a villain! lost to love and truth!
That can with studied, sly, ensnaring art,
Betray sweet Jenny's unsuspecting youth?
Curse on his perjur'd arts! dissembling smooth!
Are honour, virtue, conscience, all exil'd?
Is there no pity, no relenting ruth,
Points to the parents fondling o'er their child?
Then paints the ruin'd maid, and their distraction wild?

His stanzas " To a Mountain Daisy, on turning one down with the plough," have always been acknowledged as beautiful and interesting. His address " To a Mouse, on turning her up in her nest with the plough," evinces the fertility of his genius, and the unbounded benevolence of his heart. These two poems derive additional interest from the attitude in which the writer is himself presented to our view; we behold him engaged in the labours of the field, and moving in his humble sphere with all the dignity of honest independence and conscious genius. The exordium of his very poetical production entitled *The Vision* is also rendered interesting by the same circumstance; it exhibits Burns in the retirement of his homely cottage:

The sun had clos'd the winter day,
The curlers quat their roaring play,
An' hunger'd maukin ta'en her way
To kail-yards green,
While faithless snaws ilk step betray
Whare she has been.

The thresher's weary flingin-tree
The lee-lang day had tired me;
And whan the day had clos'd his e'e
Far i' the west,
Ben i' the spence, right pensively,
I gaed to rest.

There lanely by the ingle-cheek,
I sat and cy'd the spewing reek,
That fill'd wi' hoast-provoking smeek
The auld clay biggin;
An' heard the restless rattons squeak
About the riggin.

All in this mottie mistie clime,
I backward mus'd on wasted time,
How I had spent my youthfu' prime,
An' done nae-thing,
But stringin blethers up in rhyme,
For fools to sing.

Others of his serious poems are distinguished by beauties of no vulgar kind. Many passages rise to sublimity: and his moral reflections are often solemn, pathetic, and perspicacious.

But it is perhaps in his humorous and satirical poems that he appears to most advantage. Na-

ture had endowed him with an uncommon degree of sagacity; and his perpetual disappointments and mortifications rendered him a more keen observer of the follies of mankind. His satire however, when he refrains from personalities, is seldom unmerciful: his general opinion of human nature was by no means unfavourable; and he commonly exposes vice and folly with a kind of gay severity.

Halloween exhibits a humorous and masterly description of some of the remarkable superstitions of his countrymen. The incidents are selected and the characters discriminated with his usual felicity. His *Address to the Deil*, as well as *Death and Dr Hornbook*, is distinguished by an original vein of satirical humour. *The Holy Fair* is entitled to every praise except that of scrupulous decency. The subsequent stanzas may serve to discover with what efficacy Burns could wield the shafts of ridicule:

Now a' the congregation o'er
Is silent expectation;
For * * * * * speels the holy door,
Wi' tidings o' damnation.
Should Hornie, as in ancient days,
'Mang sons o' God present him,
The very sight o' * * * * *'s face,
To's ain het hame wad send him
Wi' fright that day.

Hear how he clears the points o' faith
Wi' rattling an' wi' thumpin!
Now meekly calm, now wild in wrath,
He's stampin an' he's jumpin!
His lengthen'd chin, his turn'd up snout,
His eldritch squeel and gestures,
O how they fire the heart devout,
Like cantharidian plasters,
On sic a day!

But, hark! the tent has chang'd its voice;
There's peace an' rest nae langer;
For a' the real judges rise,
They canna sit for anger.
* * * * * opens out his cauld harangues
On practice and on morals;
An' aff the godly pour in thrangs,
To gee the jars an' barrels
A lift that day.

What signifies his barren shine
Of moral pow'rs and reason?
His English style, an' gestures fine,
Are a' clean out o' season.
Like Socrates or Antonine,
Or some auld pagan Heathen,
The moral man he does define,
But ne'er a word o' faith in
That's right that day.

In guid time comes an antidote
Against sic poison'd nostrum;
For * * * * * * *, frae the water-fit,
Ascends the holy rostrum:

See, up he's got the word o' God,
An' meek an' mim has view'd it,
While Common Sense has ta'en the road,
An' aff', an' up the Cowgate,
Fast, fast, that day.

The Ordination is another ecclesiastical satire, remarkable for its wit and humour. The following verses are pregnant with meaning:

There, try his mettle on the creed,
And bind him down wi' caution,
That *stipend* is a carnal weed
He taks but for the fashion.

Holy Willie's Prayer, which is excluded from Dr Currie's edition, and the *Address to the Unco Guid, or the Rigidly Righteous*, are wholesome satires on hypocrisy; but the former is reprehensible for the extreme indecency which it occasionally exhibits. *The Twa Dogs*, the *Dream*, and the *Dedication to Gavin Hamilton, Esq.* may also be classed among his happier efforts.

The tale entitled *Tam o' Shanter* displays a rich vein of humorous description, and even high powers of invention. "I have seldom in my life," says Lord Woodhouselee in a letter to Burns, "tasted of higher enjoyment from any work of genius, than I have received from this composition; and I am much mistaken, if this poem alone, had you never written another syl-

able, would not have been sufficient to have transmitted your name down to posterity with high reputation. In the introductory part where you paint the character of your hero, and exhibit him at the alehouse *ingle*, with his tippling cronies, you have delineated nature with a humour and *naiveté* that would do honour to Matthew Prior: but when you describe the unfortunate orgies of the witches' sabbath, and the hellish scenery in which they are exhibited, you display a power of imagination that Shakespeare himself could not have exceeded." One of the most striking passages which the works of Burns contain, is to be found in this production:

The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle,
Fair play, he car'd na deils a boddle;
But Maggie stood right sair astonish'd,
Till, by the heel and hand admonish'd,
She ventur'd forward on the light:
And, vow! Tam saw an unco sight!
Warlocks and witches in a dance;
Nae cotillion brent new frae France,
But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, and reels,
Put life and mettle in their heels.
A winnock-bunker in the east,
There sat auld Nick, in shape o' beast;
A towzie tyke, black, grim, and large,
To gie them music was his charge:
He screw'd the pipes and gart them skirl,
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl.

Coffins stood round, like open presses;
That shaw'd the dead in their last dresses;
And by some devilish cantrip slight,
Each in its cauld hand held a light.
By this heroic Tam was able
To note upon the haly table,
A murderer's banes in gibbet airns;
Twa-span-lang, wee, unchristen'd bairns;
A thief, new-cutted frae a rape;
Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape;
Five tomahawks, wi' blude red-rusted;
Five scymitars, wi' murder crusted;
A garter which a bab had strangled;
A knife, a father's throat had mangled,
Whom his ain son o' life bereft;
The grey hairs yet stack to the heft.

The songs of Burns, which are chiefly of the pastoral and rural kind, are frequently distinguished by strokes of genuine poetry. The versification indeed is not always sufficiently smooth: but the arch simplicity, the delicacy, pathos, and even sublimity, which they so often display, leave the author nearly without a rival in this department of literature. The songs which I shall here select as specimens, are written in the military spirit. The first is entitled *Robert Bruce's Address to his Army:*

Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled;
Scots wham Bruce has often led:
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to glorious victorie.

Now's the day, and now's the hour:
See the front o' battle lour;
See approach proud Edward's power—
Edward! chains and slaverie!

Wha' will be a traitor knave?
Wha can fill a coward's grave?
Wha sae base as be a slave?
Traitor! coward! turn and flee!

Wha for Scotland's king and law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Free-man stand, or free-man fa',
Caledonian! on wi' me!

By oppression's woes and pains!
By your sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be—shall be free!

Lay the proud usurper low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty's in every blow!
Forward! let us do, or die!

The following song is supposed to be sung by the wounded and dying of a victorious army. It was composed during the late war with France.

Farewell, thou fair day, thou green earth, and ye skies!
Now gay with the bright setting sun;
Farewell, loves and friendships, ye dear tender ties,
Our race of existence is run!

Thou grim king of terrors, thou life's gloomy foe,
Go frighten the coward and slave;
Go, teach them to tremble, fell tyrant! but know,
No terror hast thou to the brave!

Thou strik'st the dull peasant, he sinks in the dark,
Nor saves e'en the wreck of a name;
Thou strik'st the young hero, a glorious mark!
He falls in the blaze of his fame!

In the field of proud honour, our swords in our hands,
Our king and our country to save,
While victory shines on life's last ebbing sands,
O! who would not rest with the brave?

The last of these specimens is sufficient to evince that Burns could employ the English language with considerable efficacy: but the advice which he received from Dr Moore can hardly be considered as altogether judicious. "It is evident," says his correspondent, "that you already possess a great variety of expression and command of the English language; you ought therefore to deal more sparingly for the future in the provincial dialect: why should you, by using *that*, limit the number of your admirers to those who understand the Scottish, when you can ex-

tend it to all persons of taste who understand the English language." The situation and studies of Burns had prepared him for excelling in Scotish poetry; but it is far from being evident that he was qualified to contend with the mighty masters of the English lyre. It was therefore with sufficient prudence that he chiefly confined himself to a department in which he was without a rival. His superiority to Ramsay and Fergusson is manifest; he possesses in an infinitely higher degree the power of captivating the heart, and of arresting the understanding.

THE END.

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